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Gordon Connell-Smith

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THOMAS TRAHERNE 1637-1674
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ISRAEL AND EGYPT— A MODERN MYTH
M. C. Jones

and other articles together with a twelve-page Literary Supplement

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CUBA AND THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERE

by Gordon Connell-Smith

LAST November, in Quito, the capital of Ecuador, there was a meeting of the Organisation of American States (OAS) which, it was forecast, would prove of great significance for future relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America, as well as for the organisation itself. The OAS foreign ministers were meeting to consider lifting diplomatic and economic sanctions imposed upon Cuba a decade earlier. Many Latin Americans believed these sanctions should not have been imposed in the first place, and would not have been but for United States pressure. Moreover, Cuba had virtually stopped trying to export her revolution to other parts of the western hemisphere—the justification of the sanctions—while the United States herself had been engaged in 'destabilising' Latin American governments of which she disapproved, notably that of Salvador Allende in Chile.

Mexico had never implemented the OAS sanctions against Cuba; while, in recent years, Peru, Argentina and Panama had re-established relations with her. Three British Commonwealth countries which had joined the OAS since becoming independent in the nineteen-sixties—Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Jamaica—had also established relations with Cuba. Venezuela, whose government was known to be considering an early resumption of such relations, was a strong supporter at Quito of a resolution to end sanctions; her neighbour, Colombia, was among other Latin American countries favouring it.

There was even some reason to believe that the United States would bow

to growing Latin American demands for a normalisation of relations with Cuba. Her economic blockade had proved largely ineffective because of Soviet support for the Cuban economy and the willingness of non-communist countries outside the Americas to trade with Cuba. Dr. Henry Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State, was understood to be anxious to improve his country's relations with Latin America, and Cuba was regarded as something of a test-case of any new policy.

In the event, the OAS did not adopt a resolution to lift its sanctions against Cuba. Although only three member states (Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) voted against doing so, and more than half the members were in favour, there were enough abstentions to ensure that the resolution failed to secure the two-thirds majority necessary for its adoption. The United States was among the countries abstaining, and Dr. Kissinger was a notable absentee from the conference. It was evident that some of the countries supporting the resolution would re-establish relations with Cuba in the near future, further eroding the original OAS position on the issue. The outcome of the Quito meeting was thus another blow to the prestige of the OAS. Some commentators even forecast the organisation's early demise.

But the OAS has been in difficulties for a long time; and relations between the United States and Latin America have always been delicate because of the vast imbalance of power between them. The United States is far stronger than any or all of her southern neighbours. The OAS, whose charter was signed in 1948, is the centrepiece of 'the inter-American system', which dates from 1890. This system is based upon Pan Americanism: the idea that the United States and the countries of Latin America share a community of interests which would be threatened by extra-continental intervention in the Americas. In other words, it is related to the famous Monroe Doctrine, which declared that the 'peace and safety' *of the United States* would be threatened by such intervention. In the experience of the Latin Americans, however, the Monroe Doctrine has been associated with the intervention of the United States herself in their affairs. United States leaders traditionally have sought to justify such action on the grounds that it was necessary in order to forestall intervention by non-American powers. It has been the main issue between the United States and her weak neighbours, and has proved a major obstacle to an effective inter-American system.

Since the end of the Second World War the inherently delicate relationship between the two Americas has been strained by new factors. United States involvement in other regions of the world has caused inter-American relations to be increasingly affected by wider considerations. The development of the Cold War and the emergence of the 'Third ('developing') World' have had especially significant repercussions upon them. The United States looked to the OAS for support of her Cold War policies, both outside and, subsequently, within the hemisphere. But the Latin American members of the organisation only too often showed themselves more fearful of United States intervention than that of 'international communism'. In any case they were more concerned over their economic problems, and anxious to use the OAS to secure aid in forms and on a scale which the United States

was unwilling to grant. Thus neither party was satisfied with the OAS. It has been increasingly difficult to sustain the idea that the world's strongest and most highly industrialised power shares a genuine community of interests with twenty weak, comparatively underdeveloped countries.

In the nineteen-sixties the OAS was subjected to further strains by the aftermath of the Cuban revolution. In the light of Cuba's geographical and strategic position (the United States has an important naval base at Guantánamo on Cuban territory), and the historical links the United States has had with the island, it was extremely difficult for Washington to accept the permanence of a hostile government there. For Fidel Castro's intention to carry out a genuine revolution inevitably meant the end of the privileged position hitherto enjoyed by the United States in Cuba. When, faced in his turn by United States hostility, Castro aligned Cuba with the Soviet Union, the United States was confronted with the most serious challenge ever offered to the Monroe Doctrine. President Kennedy was under strong domestic pressure to take drastic action against Castro. After failing to bring about the Cuban leader's overthrow by organising an invasion of the island by Cuban exiles (the Bay of Pigs affair) in 1961, the United States pursued a policy of isolating Cuba from the rest of the Americas, hoping eventually to persuade the Russians (as part of a wider rapprochement) to withdraw their support from him. Interestingly, the introduction of Soviet missiles into Cuba during 1962, and their withdrawal in the face of United States pressure, led to a stabilisation of the situation. The United States eschewed direct action to overthrow Castro, while the Soviet Union made no attempt to encourage the establishment of a 'second Cuba' in Latin America. In 1965 the United States sent her marines into the Dominican Republic to prevent the possibility of a communist government emerging from the civil war there. The Soviet Union pursued a policy of developing relations with Latin American governments regardless of their political complexion.

Meanwhile, in 1964 the OAS foreign ministers, who had voted two years earlier to exclude her government from participation in the inter-American system, imposed further sanctions upon Cuba. This action followed an accusation that Castro had actively supported terrorists in Venezuela. There had been a bare two-thirds majority for Cuba's exclusion from the OAS, and Mexico now refused to apply the additional sanctions. The 1964 resolution represented the high-water mark of OAS action against Castro. Since then support for such action has declined, while Cuba has ceased making serious attempts to export her revolution.

But while Castro's influence as a revolutionary has diminished, his importance as a nationalist has not done so. In truth, Castro's position has always derived a great deal of its strength from his being the symbol of Cuban nationalism. And this has struck a chord in the rest of Latin America, even among Latin Americans who are strongly anti-communist. In the last decade there has been a significant increase in Latin American nationalism: what has been called 'continental nationalism'. This is essentially anti-North American in orientation, and has fed upon Latin American disillusionment with United States economic aid. At the height of the Cuban

problem the United States sought to enlist Latin American support by promises of aid on an unprecedented scale. In August 1961 (a few months after the abortive invasion of Cuba) the 'Alliance for Progress' was launched, promising a 'New Deal' for Latin America. Within a year or two it was already proving a disappointment, and Latin Americans subsequently complained that it strengthened United States economic interests in the region rather than furthered their own development. As the problem of Cuba became less urgent, so did Latin America become less important to the United States, and the Nixon administration relegated it to a very low place in its foreign policy priorities. The Vietnam War had come to overshadow all other issues, and a 'low profile' policy was pursued in Latin America.

But meanwhile important developments were taking place south of the Rio Grande. In October 1968—a few months before President Nixon took office—a military junta seized power in Peru, proclaiming its intention to carry out radical social reform. Specific measures it proposed included the expropriation of the United States-owned International Petroleum Company (IPC). In June 1969, following a meeting in Chile, the Latin American governments presented Mr. Nixon with the 'Consensus of Viña del Mar' (named after the meeting place), reiterating the view that their situation demanded not more 'aid'—which, they declared, benefited the United States more than it did them—but better terms of trade. The 'Consensus' affirmed 'the distinctive personality of Latin America' and represented a new effort to present a common front in order to obtain better economic terms from their great neighbour. In September 1970 Dr. Salvador Allende won the Chilean presidential election at the head of a Popular Unity Front which included communists and socialists. His programme included the expropriation of leading United States companies operating in Chile. Even Brazil, with a strongly anti-communist military government friendly to the United States, was pursuing economic policies which included increasing her trade with communist countries.

But the growing economic strength of Brazil caused apprehension among her Spanish American neighbours, and stimulated moves for closer co-operation among them. Argentina, in particular, was concerned over Brazil's influence in Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay—countries traditionally within her sphere of influence. The Argentine military government was even prepared to have closer relations with Allende. Eventually it acquiesced in the return to power of former dictator Juan Perón in a desperate attempt to strengthen Argentina's internal unity and stability. President Allende re-established relations with Cuba soon after taking office; Peru and Argentina subsequently did so. Panama, where anti-United States nationalism is especially strong because of the Canal issue, eventually followed suit. But growing Spanish American co-operation suffered a severe setback when Allende was overthrown by a military coup in September 1973. The United States had in various ways, including the denial of credits to his government as well as more direct action in support of his opponents, helped to bring this about.

Yet the United States was generally anxious to avoid confrontation with

Latin American nationalism, and was prepared to make some limited concessions to it. In 1967 the OAS charter was amended to give more prominence to economic matters, as the Latin Americans wished. Hardly had the amended charter come into effect (1970) when further reorganisation was under discussion to meet Latin American criticism of the OAS as being dominated by the United States. But feeling has grown in Latin America that there should be a regional organisation without United States participation. This would be demonstrated by a meeting of Spanish American countries to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Ayacucho (December 1824), which ended their wars of independence. There was talk of a 'second independence'—from the United States.

Castro has many times denounced the OAS, affirming that Cuba will never return to it while the United States remains a member. The decision at Quito clearly must have pleased him, since the United States has been widely blamed for it. Cuba's isolation from the rest of Latin America is ending. The United States will acquiesce in the gradual erosion of the sanctions for which she pressed so strongly a decade ago. But it seems unlikely that she will take any spectacular initiatives to improve her relations with Latin America. Her abstention at Quito indicates this. For whatever gains the Ford administration might have hoped to make in Latin America by supporting the end of sanctions against Cuba, these were not considered sufficient to offset the still not insignificant hostility to such a gesture within the United States. Moreover, there is much stronger opposition in the Congress to any substantial concessions to Panama over the Canal, which is another outstanding issue involving Latin American nationalism.

Latin America's ability to bring pressure to bear upon the United States remains limited—and would be so even were the countries of the region united, which is very far from the case. The extent to which the energy crisis will strengthen the region remains to be seen. Venezuela is to nationalise her oil industry in the near future, and her role will be significant. But meanwhile, as long as United States power remains so preponderant in the western hemisphere, and her leaders see the OAS as a worthwhile instrument of her policy towards Latin America, it will be distinctly premature to speak of the organisation's pending demise.

[Professor Gordon Connell-Smith has written and broadcast extensively on relations between the United States and Latin America. Publications include *The Inter-American System* and *The United States and Latin-America: An Historical Analysis of Inter-American Relations*. He is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Hull.]

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

by Rudolf J. Vollmer

WORKER participation has a long tradition in Germany. The first Works Council Act was passed in 1920, and at the same time also the first workers' representatives appeared on German company boards. As a political demand co-determination (Mitbestimmung) goes back even to the March Revolution of 1848. During the Nazi period every form of industrial democracy was suppressed, but after the War the Federal Republic went back to the best Weimar traditions and reestablished an improved system.

In private industry, worker participation today operates at two distinct levels—on the shop floor and at board level. The purpose is to give workers at all levels of their company a share in the making of economic, social and industrial decisions and thus to establish a democratic control and management of the economy.

Under the Works Constitution Act 1972 (which has recently replaced the 1952 Act) a works council has to be elected in every establishment in private industry employing more than five persons.

The works council is not a joint body, but represents exclusively the workpeople. Nor is it—at least not in law—a trade union body like Shop Steward Committees in Britain. Candidates for membership do not have to be union members, although in practice the great majority of the 200,000 German works councillors belong to one of the 16 industrial unions affiliated to the DGB, the counterpart of the British TUC. They are elected in a secret ballot by all employees of the firm, independent of trade union membership. This means that on the shop floor and, in particular, in plant bargaining German unions can only exercise influence and power if they can manage to get elected to the works council.

However, German unions are not afraid of and see nothing wrong in facing free elections of all workers including non-union members. Works council elections are held nation-wide every three years between March and May. The last elections took place in spring 1972. About 90 per cent of the total work force took part in the poll. In many industries 100 per cent turned out. And although on an average only a third of German workers are organised, 80 per cent of the candidates returned were members of a DGB industrial union. This means that whatever reason a man may have of not joining a trade union, in the case of works council elections, he votes for the union man. This is an achievement which the German unions are naturally very proud of. It has given them an authority, based on free secret elections, which they believe no other trade union movement in Europe can claim.

Works council members are elected for three years. According to the size of the work force in the plant, their number may vary between one and (under the new law) over 35. Companies with several divisions must establish a central company council for the whole company. Groups of com-

panies have to have a combined works council.

Young employees under 18 years of age elect their own youth delegation. The youth delegation may send one of its members to attend any works council meeting. Where a matter concerns mainly young employees, the full youth delegation is entitled to participate in the discussion and to take part in the vote of the works council.

The members of a works council enjoy special protection and certain privileges to make them independent and efficient in their job. They cannot be dismissed by the employer while holding office and for one year thereafter. In larger companies the chairman and further members of the works council have to be free from production work altogether. In plants with more than 300 employees at least one member of the works council has to be released. In establishments employing more than 10,000 persons, at least 12 works council members must be excused work completely. The employer has to provide the necessary facilities for the works council including appropriate offices and secretaries, and he has to defray all costs arising out of the activities of the works council. Each member of the works council is entitled during his first term of office to four weeks' paid leave to attend a course of further education or training—in any subsequent term the period is three weeks.

The basic aim of the Works Constitution Act is to bring about a co-operation in mutual trust between works council and employer. Employer and works council have to avoid any action which could disturb industrial peace on the shop-floor. They have a common duty to ensure that all employees are treated equally and equitably and that nobody is discriminated against for reasons of race, nationality, religion, political convictions or sex. Furthermore, they must jointly promote by positive action the personal advancement of all employees within the plant.

In personal matters and grievance disputes, management can, under the new law, no longer act alone. Hiring, firing and promotion, allocation of work, transfers and regrouping all need the advance consent of the works council. For example, if an employer wants to hire a man from outside to fill a certain post, the works council could claim that a man should be promoted from within the company. Where the employer wants to dismiss a worker he has to consult the works council first and to explain the reasons for the dismissal. Any dismissal without such consultation would be void in law. The works council even has the right to object to a dismissal, for instance, on the ground of 'social hardship' for the worker concerned. Conflicts go to the labour courts and, during the two or three years that the case may take to go through the system, the man cannot be dismissed.

In matters affecting the actual conduct of the business the powers of the works councils are more limited. In companies employing more than a hundred workers an economic committee has to be formed. It is composed of between four and eight members appointed by the works council. The economic committee is entitled to information on all important matters such as manufacturing methods, automation, production programmes, and the financial situation of the company. Shutdowns, staff cuts, works moves, and

reductions or alterations in the scale of production require the advance consent of the works council. In the case of major redundancies the employer has to set out, jointly with the works council, a 'social plan' providing employment elsewhere in the firm, retraining, or—if a man cannot be resettled—severance pay for the affected worker.

If there is a deadlock between employer and works council on matters where the works council is entitled to co-determination, either side can bring the case before a joint arbitration committee under an independent chairman for compulsory arbitration. Where statutory rights are involved the final decision lies with the labour courts.

The works council in turn is responsible to the works assembly which is composed of all the workers and employees of the firm. Every three months the works council has to submit a progress report of its activities to the works assembly which meets during paid working time. The employer is always invited to the meeting and is entitled to address it.

If the works assembly is dissatisfied with the works council or a member of the works council it can apply to the Labour Court for their removal. The same right applies to the unions represented in the plant.

Summing up, it would appear that the works council system has great advantages, beneficial to industrial relations in Germany. Through their works councils, workers in Germany have achieved such influence and power that, today, they have an equal say with management in all social, personnel and economic decisions which are vital for their livelihood. This gives also to the unions a tremendous influence on the shop floor and especially in plant bargaining. The only snag is that their members must be able to get democratically elected to the works council, in a secret ballot by a majority of all employees of the firm. In Germany, the unions have achieved this aim. They are practically running the works councils and, therefore, regard them as a pillar of industrial democracy.

Similar co-determination rights have recently been achieved in the public sector by the reform of the Personnel Representation Act 1955 which came into effect on 1 April 1974. Elected Personnel Councils representing civil servants, salaried staff and manual workers in all public services and enterprises including Government, Courts and German Embassies, will have in future an equal say with their employer in all important matters affecting their employment and the organisation of their work.

In addition to the works councils there is a graduated system of co-determination at board level in joint stock companies and all other limited companies with more than 500 workers. Unlike the single-board Anglo-American system, German companies have two boards: a supervisory board (Aufsichtsrat) and an executive or management board (Vorstand). The supervisory board meets generally about four or five times a year, appoints the management board, scrutinises the annual accounts of the company and is responsible for all major policy decisions such as mergers, takeovers or vital labour organisation schemes. The management board conducts the day-to-day business of the company. Its members are full-time. They are not allowed to sit on the supervisory board and vice versa.

In all joint stock and limited companies outside the coal and steel industries, one third of the supervisory board have to be elected labour representatives. Usually one of them will be the chairman of the works council, but also trade union officials from outside the company may be elected, so that there is an automatic communication with both works council and unions. In law, the workers' representatives on the board have a direct control over the firm's activities and enjoy the same rights and obligations as all other board members. In practice, the inherent minority of the workers' side leads to a situation whereby in the event of a conflict it is usually the interests of the shareholders which prevail.

The unions therefore prefer the so-called 'qualified' co-determination system operated in the coal and steel industries. Here the Co-determination Act 1951 stipulates equal representation of shareholders and workers on the supervisory board. All boards contain an uneven number of members: eleven, fifteen or twenty-one. Thus, in a supervisory board of eleven members, five are appointed by the shareholders and five by the workers. The eleventh member—known as the 'neutral man'—is co-opted by the two sides of the supervisory board. He represents the public interest and has a casting vote in the event of a deadlock between the two sides. In the coal and steel industries, the workers are also represented on the board of management by an elected 'Labour Director'. He has the same responsibilities as the other executive directors and is usually entrusted with wage, personnel and welfare questions.

For more than 20 years the German trade unions have been demanding that this level of 'parity' or 'qualified' co-determination as operated in the coal and steel industries should be extended to all major companies complying with two out of three of the following criteria:

—more than 2,000 employees;
—annual turnover of DM 150 million (about £25m. at current exchange rates);
—a balance sheet of DM 75 million.

Up to the November 1972 elections the distribution of power in successive Federal Parliaments did not provide the necessary majority. But it now seems likely that the present Parliament will.

In fact, after five years of negotiations, the two partners in the Government coalition, the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, agreed upon a comprehensive plan to give workers an equal voice in industry. The Federal Government has proposed a Bill which will—when passed by Parliament—apply to all firms with more than 2,000 employees.

Up to six million workers in West Germany's 650 biggest companies are expected to benefit. The scheme is based on the following principles:

—The policy-making supervisory board in every major company will be made up equally of workers' and shareholders' representatives, usually ten from each side;
—Of the 10 workers' representatives, seven must be chosen from the shop floor and three may be from outside the company, usually union officials;

—The workers' side on the supervisory boards must be representative of all employees of the company, including non-union members and at least one senior executive.

Though in law non-union members may be elected, in practice the supervisory boards will draw their membership largely from the unions.

The new proposals are a careful compromise of the unions' demands, advocated by the Social Democrats, and the proposals of the Free Democrats. The Liberals wanted separate representation of management besides that of the workers on the shop floor and at board level and suggested the so-called 6-4-2 principle for the supervisory board: six shareholders' representatives, four from the unions and two from among senior executives. Under the proposals now agreed on all 10 workers' representatives on the supervisory board, including the three from outside, are chosen by an electoral college which is in its turn elected by the entire work force by secret ballot. The electoral procedure is so devised that the supervisory board represents all the different groups in the work force (manual workers, the white-collar staff and senior executives), and includes at least one senior executive as part of the workers' side. Voting is secret. The selection of candidates on the workers' side is largely influenced by the unions; the shareholders' representatives are elected at the annual general meeting of the shareholders.

Unlike the supervisory boards in the coal and steel industry, where the two sides select an independent chairman from outside, the chairman and his deputy are chosen from the board members and cannot both belong to the same side; if the chairman comes from the workers' side his deputy must be from the shareholders' side, and vice versa. If the chairman and his deputy are elected by a two-thirds majority, they remain in office for the full electoral term of the supervisory board, three to five years, depending on the company articles. If the election is by simple majority, the chairman and his deputy will alternate annually.

Where there is a deadlock in the supervisory board's discussions, the chairman has a casting vote if both sides agree on this in advance. If they cannot agree that the chairman has a casting vote, both sides have to go on discussing the matter at issue until they can agree. The example of the coal and steel industry, where the chairman is co-opted from outside, was deliberately avoided as it was felt essential that the board should seek agreement among its own members.

The supervisory board appoints the management board. As under previous legislation, members of the management board cannot sit on the supervisory board and vice versa. The management board elects from among its members a chairman who is regarded as *primus inter pares* and has no casting vote. One member of the management board must be entrusted solely with personnel and social matters.

The set-up in the coal and steel industries remains in effect unaltered. In firms with fewer than 2,000 employees, the principle of one-third participation by workers in the supervisory boards continues as well.

Beside their role as industrial partners, German trade unions and employ-

ers play an important part in Government and public administration. In Parliament, more than half of all deputies are union members, and in Helmut Schmidt's cabinet twelve ministers belonged to a trade union, including the Chancellor himself.

German unions regard the Federal Republic and its Constitution as friendly soil and the law as a useful ally. In fact, they have developed considerable skill in pushing demands through Parliament which otherwise they could not have hoped to achieve by collective bargaining. On the other hand, both unions and employers in Germany are prepared to accept the responsibilities that come with power.

Health insurance, old age pensions, industrial injuries and unemployment insurance, employment services, occupational training, retraining, and rehabilitation are in practice run and financed by both sides of industry. This means that public funds representing more than one quarter of Germany's total gross national product are to a large extent jointly run by both sides of industry. This year Germany will spend more than 40,000 million pounds on social services, education not included. By 1976, social expenditure will have risen to almost 60,000 million pounds. The purpose of these social investments is not merely to enable people to retain their status and living standard in the case of illness, unemployment, disability, or old age, but to keep labour mobile and fit and to encourage them to develop their full potential in the economy.

Joint responsibility for social security, employment services, training and rehabilitation has helped to create an atmosphere of 'social partnership' which no doubt is one of the main reasons for industrial peace in Germany. Employers and trade unions may in collective negotiations quarrel about how to divide the cake. But they basically agree that it is their joint task to make the cake big. Not only through productive co-operation in industry, but also through massive investment into the social and economic vitality of man.

It is accepted, today, in Germany that human skill and mobility have become the most important factors for economic growth, more important even than capital. We believe, therefore, that our technical, economic and thence social progress depends more than ever before on what we are ready to spend on health, education, training and social security. Government, trade unions, and employers in Germany agree that social policy has become a 'pacemaker of economic progress'.

[Dr. Rudolf J. Vollmer is Labour Attaché at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in London.]

THE CZECHOSLOVAK SCENE IN THE LAST SEVENTEEN YEARS

by Veronica Weir

EVEN hard-boiled journalists like myself were prone to cold war propaganda, having been subjected to it for over a decade. As a result, my heart began to pound as I crossed over into Czechoslovakia at Marchegg. The pounding eased as Slovak border guards helped to carry my luggage into a waiting train. And it resumed its normal beat in Bratislava when I noticed that underneath the conformity and uniformity, people discussed political matters freely with me, because I spoke their language and came from England.

And yet the tremors of the Hungarian Revolution still reverberated inside Czechoslovakia. Shedding the last scruples of Western indoctrination I addressed improvised open-air meetings on the banks of the Danube in Bratislava or on ski slopes in the Giant Mountains, frankly telling my audience that I was a British journalist in tourist guise. In fact, the first British correspondent allowed into the country after the Hungarian débâcle.

Far from tightening the screw, the authorities tried to placate the country in the early months of 1957. It was after the Hungarian disaster that snail-paced 'liberalisation' began or, as hard-liners might put it, 'the rot started to set in'. The after-effects of the Slansky trials were no more in evidence. Target practice against intellectuals, Jews and writers, the usual scapegoats of totalitarianism, was seemingly abandoned.

At the same time the spectre of the 'German menace' was still dangled in front of Czechs and Slovaks, exhorting them to cast anxious eyes at the Americans who were engaged in rehabilitating the Federal Republic. Inside Czechoslovakia the rehabilitation of the dead and living victims of Stalinism got under way, however hesitatingly and unwillingly, while Sovietisation of the Czechoslovak economy was moving towards its calamitous peak. By 1959-60 Czechoslovak heavy industry, on which the country's economic growth depended, was more Moscow orientated than even Russia's.

At the time when the Soviet Union swallowed the major part of her industrial output, Czechoslovak living standards were down to somewhat less than austerity level, outdoing in this respect even the Russian example.

The regime's costly investment on steel, heavy machinery and chemical plants had to be financed at the expense of consumer goods. Production of the once famous glassware, china, textiles, gloves and shoes turned into shoddy imitation of its quality models. It was left to a gifted group of economists, headed by Ota Sik, to try and put Czechoslovakia's chaotic economy right during the pre-Dubcek era.

The comparative calm and outward stability during the preceding East European upheavals has been of inestimable value, not only for the political survival of the Soviet bloc but also for its economic life. Being the only 'old' industrial country within the Communist orbit, Czechoslovakia played

a crucial role in its internal division of labour as the chief exporter of machinery to her less developed partners. Even before the war, Czechoslovakia ranked tenth among the industrial producers of the world. Towards the end of the fifties she claimed sixth place. The industrialisation of once backward Slovakia, where by 1958 over 100 new factories had been erected, has made a decisive contribution to this development, of which neither the Czech nor the Slovak nation benefited.

One felt giddy digesting official figures that put even the 1956 output of machinery at 400 per cent above pre-war. And machinery made up 44 per cent of Czechoslovakia's total exports, three-quarters of which were going to the Soviet Union. Czech equipment of whole factories, manufactured to Soviet specification, made its substantial contribution to the then fashionable Five Year Plans. The same was done for other east bloc countries. Even China had a share of this development.

In Poland, a whole chain of power stations have been fitted with Czechoslovak machinery. Hungary received equipment for her bauxite mines and her chemical works. In Rumania too, Czechoslovak machinery provided the backbone of that country's electrification plan. Exports to China included sugar refineries. Thus it can be claimed that Czechoslovak efforts largely contributed to the future industrial development of the entire Communist world.

In addition, arms sales from the Skoda combine played a big role in future local wars, supplying war material to one side or the other. Incidentally, the Skoda plants were and are no longer concentrated at Plzen, but dispersed over the whole country. Peace became a much abused word in those days and the Nobel dynamite works at Bratislava were renamed 'Peace Factory'.

Slovakia, the former stepchild of the Republic, was by 1960 looked upon as the infant prodigy of the Soviet sphere. Political as well as economic factors were responsible for creating an industrial proletariat in the land and, seeking to raise it to the Czech level, the leadership aimed at strengthening its influence in this deeply Catholic and traditionally disaffected area.

However, Czechoslovakia's integration with the joint planning of the Soviet bloc carried the risk that the breaking of any weak link in the chain may dislocate the economy of the whole orbit.

In 1957 Czechs and Slovaks had been told by the then Planning Minister, Simunek, that they would have to further tighten their belts because they would need to share their coal and power with Hungary, since that country suffered total dislocation during the uprising. The news was received in a grim and grumbling mood. A further sore point was the delivery of the whole output of Czechoslovakia's uranium mines to Russia, well below world market prices. The Novotny regime justified this on the grounds that Russia had taught them how to explore the ore, and that there was no alternative market, for the Czechs could not sell uranium to their 'enemies' in the West.

The greatest grumble during the Novotny era was overwork. Workers were very tired. Nowhere, they said, were people subjected to such strain,

not even in Russia, often ruining their health. Nervous complaints and heart disease were rampant; consultation clinics overcrowded.

Czechoslovakia's lopsided economy became overheated and heading towards disaster. Novotny tried to paper up the cracks by grudgingly giving in to demands from some intellectuals to loosen his grip. But long queues were the rule in Prague in front of food shops. Meat was especially in short supply. Housewives had to get up at an unearthly hour to take in provisions before going to work. A western-type depression was in the offing for this eastern 'model of economic and political conformism'.

Students and other travellers from the West spread the gospel of plenitude in Capitalist countries. And Czechs and Slovaks did not take kindly to their economic inferiority. *The Times,* which was available in my Bratislava hotel, was taken up to bedrooms to be studied until it was almost in shreds. Franz Kafka's works were allowed to be dug out from near-oblivion and a Swedish journalist was permitted to do research in Prague on a study, entitled *In Kafka's Footsteps.* In the forefront of the cultural pressure were of course the writers. *Kulturny Zivot,* organ of the Slovak Writers' Union, attacked the leadership's incompetence and Novotny's shortcomings in as strong words as the Damocles sword in the form of confiscation permitted. It often had to wrap up its findings by pointing to changes in neighbouring countries, especially Hungary.

Nor did the educational system, based on selection by origin, help the regime in the end. Planned education ran parallel with planned economy. This was especially the case with higher education. The order went out that it should be available mainly to urban workers' children and children of small peasants. Thus would be created a student population on which the Government could rely. They were offered a number of incentives and lured into higher education by free board and accommodation in the various new colleges and by generous scholarships. The target was to fill at least half the university places with descendants of manual workers. The student unrests in the following years showed that the Government miscalculated. Though initially it looked as if the young were affected by Marxist-Leninist teaching, this proved a futile hope.

How badly the professional classes fared in the way of salaries can be illustrated by the remarks of a Moravian bus driver: 'By doing overtime I earn more than a lawyer or judge', he told me. The screw was put on the medical profession by 1961. Only University professors and doctors engaged in scientific work were allowed a private practice. The rest became civil servants and their income, a fraction of what they used to earn before—even under Communist rule.

Lawyers, too, became civil servants and were bundled into collectives. They were not permitted to advise their clients in contravention of what is still called 'socialist legality'. Judges had their collectives as well and they did not enjoy the same status as in Britain or the United States. Nor did they command a sizeable salary.

Teachers' collectives were barred from taking part in certain activities such as writing textbooks individually. These had to be the products of

several members, and approved by the whole collective.

Journalists were required to have the 'right outlook' on manual work and be well acquainted with social trends on the land and the factories, before embarking on their careers. They also were sadly underpaid.

All these factors contributed to the general discontent which led up to the events of 1968. Many aspects I have described prevail to the present day.

Shortly before the Dubcek era, hitherto unheard of cultural events took place. The 'new wave' film directors were able to earn Oscars in America and were hailed as trend-setters all over the western world. Milos Forman, Jiri Menzel and Jan Nemec among them. Vaclav Havel's *Memorandum* meant a breakthrough in the theatre. It satirised the rulers, prevailing conditions and Marxism in general. Alfred Radok, one of Europe's most brilliant theatrical directors, a non-Communist, who received the first prize for Czechoslovakia for his *Magic Lantern* at the Brussels Expo, became artistic director of the National theatre.

Much has been written about the famous Writers' Congress, held in Prague in 1967. As a prelude, Milan Kundera spoke out against the decline of Czech literature and its debasement to propaganda level. At the Congress itself, Pavel Kohout, Liehm, Kliment and especially Ludvik Vaculik spoke at length on the theme of freedom and its curtailment by the Party. Clearly, the Writers' Union was in revolt. Not daring to take action against the culprits, Novotny's problem was how to prevent the outside world from learning what had passed behind closed doors. Even if Novotny had been successful inside his country in hushing up the proceedings, Radio Free Europe, The Voice of America and the BBC could be relied upon to beam the news back to Czechoslovakia. Western journalists were instrumental in spreading it abroad. Some got hold of micro-printed copies of the speeches and brought them over the border.

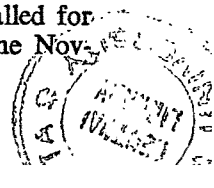
Novotny's outbursts that the Communist Party would continue to rule and take what measures it deemed necessary did little to sustain him in the end. Some of the steps he was alluding to consisted of the expulsion from the Party of Ivan Klima, Liehm and Vaculik, three of the offending writers. *Literarni Noviny,* their respected organ, was snatched away from the Writers' Union and became the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture. Its former contributors refused to serve under the new management.

Meanwhile the opposition to Novotny increased in Slovakia as well. Dubcek and others objected to Slovakia being given a secondary role to play in the economic sphere as compared with Bohemia.

Exports to the West slumped and those to the Soviet Union increased, which did not improve Czechoslovakia's desperate shortage of hard currency.

These were some of the factors leading to the major crisis which was to engulf Novotny. His doubtful assets were the reliance on the Soviet Union and his friendship with East Germany's Walter Ulbricht. By the end of 1967 it became clear to observers of the Czechoslovak scene that Novotny's fall was imminent.

Dubcek became so emboldened by the events that he openly called for separation of power between Party and State, partly to undermine Nov-



otny's authority. In this, many Slovak and some Czech politicians agreed with him. While all this was happening a student demonstration was brutally repressed by the police which in turn so angered the student body of Charles University that on the 20th November 1967 they held a nine-hour sit-in in which several professors and lecturers participated.

At the meeting of the Central Committee on December 19, two opposing factions were facing each other: Novotny's adherents and his opponents. Recriminations degenerated into ferocious mudslinging. One who was not dishing out insults but brilliantly exposed Novotny's bankrupt policy, was Ota Sik. Meanwhile the Central Committee's Security Department was on the brink of engineering a military coup with Soviet connivance. When General Prchlik heard of the plot he immediately disclosed its details to Dubcek. As soon as the Central Committee resumed its meeting early in January 1968, Novotny was cornered. All his protestations that he knew nothing of the conspiracy were in vain: Dubcek was elected to succeed him and became the first Slovak to head the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The Dubcek era is so well documented that I will only briefly dwell on it. At first everything went well for the reformers. A congratulatory telegram from Brezhnev, though a mere expression of protocol, appeared to seal Dubcek's elevation to the top. At 46 he was the Benjamin of Communist Party leaders. One more reason why youth sided with him.

Dubcek moved cautiously at first. No purges of Novotnyites were carried out and life went on as before. A confrontation with the Kremlin was to be avoided at all costs. So he dutifully went to Moscow on what was regarded as a 'courtesy' visit. He had a cool reception that ended in a communiqué of platitudes. Gustav Husak, the present ruler of Czechoslovakia and former detainee of the Stalinist era, sided with Dubcek and wrote an impassioned article in *Kulturni Zivot*, denouncing the old guard and calling for civil liberties.

The most important new face to emerge was that of Josef Smrkovsky, a staunch member of the Communist Party, who became a leading reformist and darling of the young.

Goldstuecker, a former Ambassador to Israel, who suffered imprisonment under Stalinism, was elected Chairman of the regrouped Writers' Union. Under his chairmanship, *Literarni Noviny*, the union's journal, was renamed *Literarni Listy* and played a leading part in the development of what was commonly called: 'Socialism with a human face'. Further signs of freedom were the prominently displayed pictures of Thomas Masaryk, founder of the Republic, whom the Novotny regime tried to turn into a 'non-person'. His grave and the grave of his son, Jan, at Lany became a place of pilgrimage for the Czechs, with students conspicuous among the multitude.

Press, radio and television were uncensored and the Czech people basked in their newly won freedom. Mass rallies were held with Smrkovsky, Sik and Goldstuecker addressing workers, students and farmers who fired questions at them and got frank answers. One felt as if in Trafalgar Square,

London. Radio and television played their part by relaying the speeches.

As if all that had not been enough the monopoly of the Communist Party was threatened. According to belated judgement, Dubcek was pushed too far too fast. Then out of the blue came the first ominous rumblings: large-scale Soviet troop concentrations were sighted on the Polish and East German borders with Czechoslovakia. A preview of the real thing to come on August 22, 1968.

'At that time Czechoslovakia resembled a huge aviary, peopled by ostriches', a friend told me. 'I myself took a dose of sleeping pills as tanks were thundering down the centre of Prague. What else could I do?'

The repression following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia worked as gradually as the forces that brought about her short-lived freedom. The country reluctantly relapsed into conformism.

At present, there is full employment among labourers and factory workers, but the Czechs, who have in the past prided themselves on being among the most hardworking people in Europe, are not pulling their weight. Material incentives do not suffice and are counterbalanced by lack of freedom. The oft-repeated apology for conformism is expressed in two phrases: 'I've a family to support' and 'What else could I do?'

The demise of the remainder of cultural weeklies in 1970 points again to Czechoslovakia's downhill course. On the other hand, Artistic Councils (consultative bodies) of the Ministry of Culture have been set up. They determine how to distribute funds to 'committed artists'. New artists' unions have been formed. The Czech Writers' Union has been resuscitated, a mere shadow of its once outstanding and powerful self. Writers who did not want to join it or were unable to do so, cannot now be published. For a time they were living off their former work. Intellectuals consider themselves lucky if they can find manual or some lowly clerical work. A former professor of Charles University, employed on a construction site, had in 1971 this sarcastic message to give me: 'Tell your readers that we, members of the former Prague intelligentsia, are very grateful to our leadership for enabling us to work side by side with your labouring fellow citizens'.

Journalists are among the hardest hit groups. Newspapers are staffed by 'yes men' and seminars held all over the country to imbue them with the regime's requirements. Newspapers resemble the worst examples of the early Novotny regime. Czechs cannot even read between the lines any more, an art in which they were particularly adept. They now go by omissions, not a very reliable way of gathering information. Copies of *Samizdat* are circulating. These are avidly read but do not contain anything world shattering, mainly translated and typed exerpts from Western newspapers.

A thorough clean-up has been carried out at the universities. Like the journalists, dismissed professors and lecturers were unable to find comparable work and were glad to take jobs as taxi and lorry drivers. The regime's contention that they could continue in their own field is simply not true. Some had to change their jobs three or four times within a couple of months as the accusing files circulated from office to office.

Political jokes (always a good barometer) blossom like daffodils in spring. Here is one that sums up the situation: 'You know there are two kinds of Czech and Slovak fools: those who left the country and those who stayed behind'.

[Born in Slovakia, Veronica Weir studied at the Sorbonne and came to England a week before war was declared. A former *Guardian* and *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent, she has travelled widely and spent over three years in Africa.]

The February issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Europe's Least Favoured Nations* by Gene Gregory, *Psychiatry in the Thirties* by Eliot Slater, *Population Policy and the Press* by Lois A. Monteiro and *Public Libraries in Britain* by N. A. Webber.

THOMAS TRAHERNE, 1637-1674

by Donald Bruce

IN the nineteen-fifties, when I was a student in London, I often used to go to the market in Farringdon Road and return with quantities of books bought at sixpence each: odd volumes of eighteenth-century editions with brown engraved pages; nineteenth-century poetry printed within double red frames, with pictures of mermaid-haired, tubular heroines. It seems that it was always foggy there, just as all the dances one went to seem to have tasted of gin-and-lime, with people dancing quicksteps in the distance—for people danced quicksteps and foxtrots in those guileless times. I never saw the line of lit barrows in the fog, smelling of old bindings, paraffin lamps and the keen receding murk, without experiencing a sense of imminent discovery. The market hardly exists now. I do not know where they have gone—into what circumambient gloom—those rheumy, surly old barrow-keepers. They morosely sold many a book for far less than it was worth.

Earlier still, the bargains to be had at Farringdon Road were not merely pleasing, but breathtaking. In 1895 a minor man-of-letters called William Brooke, rifling the barrows, arrested on their way to the paper-mill two manuscript volumes, one a folio containing verse, the other an octavo containing prose, and bought them both for a few pence. He had made one of the most important discoveries in the history of modern publishing, comparable with that of the private papers of James Boswell. On the strength of the manuscripts, their author, before that time hardly known at all, would come to be hailed as one of the outstanding writers of the late seventeenth century: the last of the Metaphysicals, emerging like a wind-seeded flower in an alien soil. Several years passed before he was finally identified and his works were printed, the verse in 1903 and the much more important prose in 1908.[1] Literary success does not come early to all writers. To poor Traherne it did not come until he had been dead for more than two hundred years.

Thomas Traherne was born in 1637, the son of a Hereford shoemaker, and grew up during the Civil War.[2] The people of Hereford were robbed and murdered by both sides. Three times, with Royalist intervals, it was seized by the Parliamentarians. The Roundheads interrupted the services in the cathedral with facetious shouts, and danced in the choir to the church music. The Cavaliers, when their turn came, hanged and branded the peasantry which had been intimidated into working with the Roundheads.[3] Society had turned against the common man. It is likely that Traherne's quietism, his longing to withdraw from the world, was partly inspired by the experiences of his childhood. Company he loved, but he deplored society.

The ceremonies and fashions of the Christian nations, he wrote, are 'more absurdly Barbarous' than those of savages, who 'are like Adam.' The natural world is spoilt by human society with its 'Invented Riches, Pomps

and Vanities.' Human misery proceeds from 'the outward Bondage of Opinion and Custom,' rather than from an inward corruption or a natural depravity: 'It is not our Parents Loyns, so much as our Parents lives, that Enthrals and Blinds us'.[4] Mankind has chosen gold, when the Earth is better than gold, since it produces fruits and flowers, and is encompassed by the 'living miracle' of the air. Surely no other author—not even Shelley—has written of the simple air with greater rejoicing:

> Do not the Stars shed Influences to Perfect the Air? Is not that a marvellous Body to Breath in? To visit the Lungs: repair the Spirits: revive the Sences: cool the Blood: fill the Empty Spaces between the Earth and Heavens; and yet give Liberty to all Objects?[5]

As he said himself, the most tempestuous weather is the best seed-time. He was a serious boy, this child of internecine war:

> Once I remember (I think I was about 4 yeer old, when) I thus reasoned with myself, sitting in a little Obscure Room in my Fathers poor House. If there be a God, certainly He must be infinit in Goodness.[6]

As a classical scholar, Traherne would have been conversant with the Platonic notion of the individual soul's emergence from, and subsidence into, God. The world, says Traherne:

> is surrounded with infinit and Eternal Space: And like a Gentlemans house to one that is Travelling; It is a long time before you com into it, you passe it in an Instant, and leave it for ever.[7]

The knowledge which he brought with him into the world was divine:

> My Knowledg was Divine. I knew by Intuition those things which since my Apostasie, I collected again, by the Highest Reason. . . . Is it not Strange, that an Infant should be Heir of the World, and see those Mysteries which the Books of the Learned never unfold?[8]

In the famous meditation—one of the chief glories of our language—beginning, 'The corn was orient and immortal wheat,' Traherne describes his ecstatic perception of the world when, as a child, he loitered about the streets of Hereford or stared at the surrounding countryside through the city gates.[9]

The sentiment is so much like that of the Welsh Metaphysical, Henry Vaughan, that it is easy to see why the unidentified manuscripts were at one time thought to be Vaughan's own work.[10] Wordsworth certainly could not have read Traherne's *Centuries,* and cared so little for the Metaphysicals that he is unlikely to have known the poetry of Vaughan. The similarities in his *Intimations of Immortality,* and in parts of *The Prelude* are probably due to the revival of the Platonic theory of the soul by the eighteenth-century Deists. Dylan Thomas, on the other hand, who read more than he ever admitted (although, lazily, mainly in anthologies) may well have found in Vaughan and Traherne something pertinent to his own evocation of childhood in such poems as *Fern Hill.*

In those days of his infancy Traherne found:

> evry Stone and Evry Star a Tongue
> And evry Gale of Wind a Curious Song.
> The Heavens were an Orakle, and spake
> *Divinity.*[11]

But soon he was ensnared by 'the Dirty Devices of This World'. The first light was blown out by the customs and manners of his elders: 'Its Primitive and Innocent Clarity was totaly ecclypsed'. He forgot, as entirely as if they

had never been, the Celestial Treasures to which he had been born. Childish discontent betrayed him:

> I had heard of Angels, and much admired that here upon Earth nothing should be but Dirt and Streets and Gutters.

Childish greed rendered him up:

> So I began among my Play fellows to prize a Drum, a fine Coat, a Peny, a Gilded Book, &c. who before never Dreamd of any such Wealth. Goodly Objects to drown all the Knowledg of Heaven and Earth! As for the Heavens and the Sun and Stars they disappeared, and were no more to me than the bare Walls.[12]

But from Desire was to proceed his conscious religious life, as distinct from his earlier intuitive one.

Traherne entered the University of Oxford at the age of fifteen, as was then customary. During his childhood his wonder at the world had shaped into a quick intellectual curiosity:

> Like the Sun we dart our Rayes before us, and occupy those Spaces with Light and Contemplation, which we move towards, but possess not with our Bodies.[13]

When he heard of any new kingdom beyond the seas, he was 'enlarged wonderfully'. Now he took up his studies at Oxford with characteristic enthusiasm:

> Having been at the University, and received there the Taste and Tincture of another Education, I saw there were Things in this World of which I never Dreamed, Glorious Secrets, and Glorious Persons past Imagination.[14]

His three years among the glorious secrets and glorious persons of Oxford concluded, Traherne chose the life of a country priest at Credenhill, a small parish not far from Hereford. His decision was in favour of a retreat from the world. Yet it was not a selfish withdrawal. He maintained the traditional decencies and fulfilled his obligations to the community which had nourished him. He preserved the tight and ordered discipline of his intellectual life, as can be seen from his researches into Church History for his book, *Roman Forgeries*. Whilst Rector of Credenhill, he appears to have returned intermittently as a postgraduate student to Oxford in order to work on this book, the only work by Traherne to be published in his own lifetime, and one which had a fair success in those days, when people were avid for theological controversy. He qualified by residence for the degree of M.A. in 1661. In 1660 the Earl of Rochester was an undergraduate at Oxford. A conversation between Traherne and Rochester, the two extremities of the whole Restoration range, would have been interesting to hear.

In 1667 Traherne took up the post of chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman at Teddington. The new post promised great advancement, since Sir Orlando, an old-fashioned Cavalier of the type of Clarendon, was one of Charles II's leading statesmen. But in 1672 Sir Orlando was disgraced because of his zeal for the Established Church and his conservative resistance to the Act of Indulgence. Loyally and fearlessly, Traherne dedicated his *Roman Forgeries*, published in the following year, to Sir Orlando. The publication was in another respect bold, the heir to the throne—an honester man than its occupant—having recently announced his allegiance to the older Church. Sir Orlando did not long survive his downfall, dying in 1674. A few months later, Traherne himself died at the age of thirty-seven. In his will he left his books and his best hat to his brother Philip, but forgot to

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mention the five cottages he owned in Hereford, which Philip later turned into almshouses.

In one of his still unpublished works, Traherne rebukes himself for his over-communicative nature: 'Reservation and silence are my desires. Too much openness and proneness to speak are my disease'.[15] Traherne delighted in fellowship and avoided seclusion. As a child, solitude frightened him. He was alone in the fields one gloomy evening:

> The unprofitableness and Silence of the Place dissatisfied me, its Wideness terrified me, from the utmost Ends of the Earth fears surrounded me . . . I was a Weak and little child, and had forgotten there was a man alive in the Earth.[16]

He always needed somebody to address his love to. Either a fellow mortal:

> No man loves, but he loves another more than Himself. . . . Look to it, it is not right Lov, that is otherwise. Moses and S.Paul were no fools. God make me one of their Number.[17]

Or a deity:

> Is this He that was transfigured upon Mount Tabor! Pale, Withered! Extended! . . . What is here but a Heap of Desolations . . . and silent Footsteps of Innumerable Sufferings! Can this be a Joy! Can this be an Entertainment! Can this Delight us! O JESUS the more vile I here behold Thee, the more I Admire Thee. . . . Thou wast slain for me: and shall I leave Thy Body in the Feild O Lord? Shall I go away and be Merry?[18]

Another Parsifal, Traherne toils back from the magic gardens of covetousness under a wounding and a healing weight of love:

> *Avec un lourd tropheé à son bras puéril,*
> *Avec la lance qui perça le Flanc suprême.*[19]

Love is a word much prostituted nowadays. What Traherne means by it is an ardour for another's good, irrespective of physical considerations: 'For Lov greatly Delighteth in seeing its Object continualy seated in the Highest Happiness'. He takes his meaning from the highest authority:

> That Cross is a Tree set on fire with invisible flame, that Illuminateth all the World. The Flame is Lov.[20]

A Platonist, Traherne regards the hunger for physical beauty as a preliminary to the discovery of intellectual beauty:

> We lov we know not what: and therfore evry Thing allures us.[21]

He does not despise the charms of this world. On the contrary, he is doubtful of the merits of Christians who defer all enjoyment till the world to come, since it is against the nature of love and desire to defer:

> The Noble Inclination wherby Man thirsteth after Riches and Dominion, is his Highest Virtue, when rightly guided.[22]

Desire he regards as Man's agent in the attainment of felicity, by which he means ultimately communion with God:

> Little did I imagine that, while I was thinking these Things, I was Conversing with GOD.[23]

But earthly desire is only a semblance of the real thing:

> I must lead you out of this, into another World, to learn your Wants. For till you find them you will never be Happy. Wants themselves being sacred Occasions and Means of Felicitie. . . . You must Want like a GOD, that you may be satisfied like GOD. Were you not made in His Image? . . . It was His Wisdom made you Need the Sun. It was His Goodness made you need the sea.[24]

By desire Traherne means that motion of the will which prevents the mind from remaining static. 'It is of the Nobility of Mans Soul', he says, 'that He is Insatiable'. Without desire there would be no betterment of the individ-

ual, only a self-enclosed inertia. In the end, as Traherne sees it, only God can satisfy desire. As his fellow-Metaphysical, Christopher Harvey, wrote in *The School of the Heart*:

> The whole round world is not enough to fill
> The heart's three corners; but it craveth still.
> Onely the Trinity, that made it, can
> Suffice the vast-triangled heart of Man.[25]

Stung by desire, Traherne sought the easement of felicity. At the University, he noticed:

> som things were Defectiv too. There was never a Tutor that did professly Teach Felicity: tho that be the Mistress of all other Sciences. Nor did any of us Study these things but as *Aliena*, which we ought to hav Studied as our own Enjoyments.[26]

Study, to the mature Traherne, was an imaginative experience, liberating an inner world which he explored as eagerly as his contemporary, Pepys, did the outer one. In spite of the excitement with which he learned of foreign countries, Traherne never travelled further than from Hereford to Teddington, yet he was a Columbus.

His informed vision raised him above time and place:

> I can visit Noah in His Ark, and swim upon the Waters of the Deluge. I can see Moses with his Rod, and the children of Israel passing thorow the Sea. I can Enter into Aarons Tabernacle, and Admire the Mysteries of the Holy Place. . . . Sure this power was not given in vain, but for some Wonderfull Purpose.[27]

When, in the Second Part of Goethe's drama, Faust succeeds in creating an homunculus, the first impulse of the manikin in his phial is to extend himself and to aspire: *Von Flamm' zu Flamme spürend gehen.*[28] It is the nature of mankind. 'Do not your Inclinations tell you that the WORLD is yours? Do you not covet all? Do you not long to hav it; to Enjoy it; to Overcom it?' Traherne demands. He professes only to teach the enjoyment of the world:

> You never Enjoy the World aright, till the Sea itself floweth in your Veins, till you are Clothed with the Heavens, and Crowned with the Stars: and Perceiv your self to be the Sole Heir of the whole World: and more then so, becaus men are in it who are evry one Sole Heirs, as well as you. Till you can Sing and Rejoyce and Delight in GOD, as Misers do in Gold, and Kings in Scepters, you never Enjoy the World.[29]

Traherne envisages mankind as smarting from a wound which, delivered by a holy spear like the wound of Amfortas in the legend of Parsifal, will not close, except at the touch of the same spear. Then flame is consumed with flame, and by desire upon desire the lacerations of desire are salved.

Notes:

The text is that of Thomas Traherne: *Centuries, Poems and Thanksgivings* (ed. Margoliouth). Oxford, 1958.

[1] By Bertram Dobell. For the curious history of the identification see Dobell's preface to Thomas Traherne: *Centuries of Meditation*. London, 1908.

[2] *Athenae Oxoniensis* (ed. Bliss) vol. III, p. 1016. Wade: *Thomas Traherne*, pp. 18-20.

[3] Wade, pp. 21-3.

[4] *Centuries* III 12, I 7 & III 8.

[5] *Cent.* I 14, II 12 & I 21.

[6] *Cent.* III 16.

[7] *Cent.* I 19.
[8] *Cent.* III 2.
[9] *Cent.* III 3.
[10] By no less a scholar than Grosart. Cf. Vaughan's *The Retreate.*
[11] *Dumnesse,* 11. 61-4. Traherne, vol. II, p. 42.
[12] *Cent.* III 3, III 7, III 15 & III 10.
[13] *Cent.* V 8.
[14] *Cent.* III 36.
[15] Unpublished Dobell MS. See T.L.S. (1964), p. 928.
[16] *Cent.* III 23.
[17] *Cent.* IV 61.
[18] *Cent.* I 89.
[19] Verlaine's *Parsifal,* 11. 8-9. *Oeuvres Complètes* (ed. Borel & Bouillan), vol. I, p. 814. 'With a heavy trophy in his youthful arms, with the lance that pieced the side beyond compare'.
[20] *Cent.* I 6 & I 60.
[21] *Cent.* I 2. For Traherne's Platonism see *Cent.* I 68, III 65, III 100, IV 15 & IV 28. One section of the Fourth Century (74-8) is quoted from the Italian Platonist, Pico della Mirandola.
[22] *Cent.* I 23.
[23] *Cent.* III 66.
[24] *Cent.* I 43, I 44 & I 46.
[25] *Cent.* I 22. Harvey's *The Insatiableness of the Heart. School of the Heart* (ed. Grosart), Epigram 10.
[26] *Cent.* III 37.
[27] *Cent.* I 55.
[28] Goethe's *Faust* (ed. Endres), 1. 7059. 'To pursue one flame after another'.
[29] *Cent.* I 29.

THE DANGEROUS LAW OF CONSPIRACY

by Robert Hazell

THE English law of criminal conspiracy breaks almost every basic tenet of a civilised legal system. It empowers the police to charge people with offences which, if committed by a single person, would not be a crime. It requires the judge and the jury in certain cases virtually to make up the law as they go along. It enables the prosecuting authorities in obscenity trials to bypass the statutory safeguards laid down by Parliament. And in all cases where Parliament has decreed a maximum penalty for a substantive offence, a charge of conspiracy to commit that offence will allow a court to hand down a sentence in excess of the statutory maximum.

None of this would matter if the conspiracy charge were left largely in abeyance; but to judge by reported cases the conspiracy weapon is being used more than it ever has been before, and the scope of the crime has been dramatically extended in recent years. Some indication of this can be gathered from the number of conspiracy cases heard by the House of Lords (the highest court of appeal in the English legal system, to which there is an appeal only in a case which raises a point of law of general public importance). In the first half of this century there were no conspiracy appeals to the Lords at all; in the 1950s there was one; in the 1960s there were four; and in the 1970s there have already been seven. All this in an age when the House only hears four to five criminal cases *in total* every year! In each of these conspiracy appeals the House has helped to make new law, and in most of them the new law has been significantly wider in its coverage of undesirable (but not previously criminal) activities than the old. The purpose of this article is to survey the general development of the law of conspiracy in the last 15 years, to examine some of the more important of these House of Lords decisions, and to look at the Law Commission's proposals for the reform of this branch of the law.

One reason why conspiracy has attracted so much criticism in recent years is that it has frequently been the charge brought in controversial cases like the Angry Brigade trial, the IRA bombing trials, the prosecutions of Underground newspapers, of Peter Hain and other demonstrators, and of the many advocates of an alternative society or an alternative morality who, in recent years, have found themselves before the courts. What marks out these 'political' cases from the ordinary criminal case is that, because of the tremendous publicity they receive, it is particularly important that justice should manifestly be seen to be done; but it is precisely in certain of these cases that judges appear to hand down decisions based on their own ideas of what is just, or what is good for society—and this role in part is forced upon them by the nature of the conspiracy charge.

To understand how conspiracy came to be so vague and widesweeping it is necessary to consider something of its history. Conspiracy as a crime of general application owes its origins to the Court of Star Chamber. In the seventeenth century it was largely restricted to prosecuting people who

combined to commit acts which were themselves crimes; but in 1832 Lord Denman was able to define the offence as consisting of 'an agreement to do an unlawful act, or a lawful act by unlawful means'. The crucial thing about this definition is that it goes far beyond combinations to commit crimes, for an 'unlawful act' in the law of conspiracy can mean something which, although not criminal, is a breach of the civil law (e.g. a trespass, or breach of contract)—or it can mean something which is not even a breach of the law at all, but is merely regarded by the courts as immoral or in some other way injurious to the public.

Probably the worst abuse of this loose formula is to be found in the nineteenth century industrial cases, when the judges, long after trade combinations had been made legal by statute, still used the law of conspiracy to outlaw any effective action by the emergent trade unions. This sorry chapter in legal history has been described this century by Lord Justice Asquith as an 'impressive illustration of judicial bias', and more recently by Lord Diplock as a 'bitter legacy'. Common law criminal conspiracy no longer has any place in trade disputes since Disraeli's Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875, but the common law definition of conspiracy has not changed. It still consists of an agreement to do an unlawful act, or a lawful act by unlawful means, and the sort of conduct covered by those words is still as uncertain—possibly at the moment even more uncertain—than it ever was. The built-in flexibility of the definition has seen practical expression in the 'discovery' in recent years of two new heads of conspiracy, conspiracy to trespass and conspiracy to corrupt public morals. Neither the corruption of public morals nor trespass is in itself a substantive criminal offence; but the House of Lords has declared that an agreement to do either of these things is an indictable offence, punishable at the maximum with life imprisonment.

Conspiracy to corrupt public morals was resurrected by the House of Lords in 1961, in the *Ladies' Directory* case. As a result of the Street Offences Act 1959, prostitutes could no longer solicit their clients in the street, and an enterprising man named Shaw published a booklet giving details of prostitutes operating in certain areas of London. He was charged with publishing an obscene article, contrary to section 2 of the Obscene Publications Act 1959, and living on the earnings of prostitution contrary to section 30 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956, and convicted on both these counts (convictions which were upheld by the House of Lords). However, because of a possible doubt as to whether these charges would stick, the prosecution added a third count, of conspiracy to corrupt public morals. The particulars of the offence alleged that Shaw 'conspired with certain persons who inserted advertisements in issues of a magazine entitled *Ladies' Directory* . . . to induce readers thereof to resort to the said advertisers for the purposes of fornication and of taking part in or witnessing other disgusting and immoral acts and exhibitions, with intent thereby to debauch and corrupt the morals as well of youth as of divers other liege subjects of Our Lady the Queen and to raise and create in their minds inordinate and lustful desires.'

This extraordinarily archaic language gives a hint of the equally archaic precedents which were dug up as authority for the offence. In truth there were no exact precedents and the House of Lords was forced to fall back on such general statements as this pronouncement by Lord Simonds: 'When Lord Mansfield, speaking long after the Star Chamber had been abolished, said that the court of King's Bench was the *custos morum* of the people and had the superintendency of offences *contra bonos mores*, he was asserting, as I now assert, that there is in that court a residual power, where no statute has yet intervened to supersede the common law, to superintend those offences which are prejudicial to the public welfare.'

This is a clear assertion of the right of the judiciary to create new criminal offences when they think it desirable to do so. Such a doctrine has no place in any twentieth century democracy, which recognises that it is for Parliament and Parliament alone to declare what conduct is to be punishable by law. The universal outcry which greeted the decision in *Shaw* both in England and overseas must have alerted the Lords to the unpopularity of such attempts at judicial legislation, for in the *IT* case 10 years later they declared that nothing in *Shaw* should be taken as meaning that the courts have a residual power to create new offences or to widen existing crimes. Something of a *volte-face*, one might think; but in the *IT* case itself the Lords revealed just how flimsy their new-found orthodoxy is.

IT (or the *International Times*) was a popular Underground newspaper which carried on an inside page contact advertisements from homosexuals, some of which were thinly disguised offers of male prostitution. The editors were charged in 1971 with conspiracy to corrupt public morals and conspiracy to outrage public decency. No charges were brought under either the Obscene Publications Act or the Sexual Offences Act, although such charges were available. If the editors had been charged under the former Act they could have then pleaded the special 'public good' defence provided by that Act, and argued that the service provided by their personal column enabled members of a harassed sexual minority to make contact with each other without inflicting their unwelcome attentions on the community at large. This public good defence may only be raised on a prosecution brought under the Act, and is not available to a defendant charged with conspiracy to corrupt public morals.

In the House of Lords it emerged that in 1961 (immediately after the decision in *Shaw*) and again in 1964 the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General had assured Parliament that the new charge of conspiracy to corrupt public morals would not be used so as to circumvent this statutory defence. The *IT* prosecution was clearly a flagrant breach of that assurance, as was the use of the conspiracy charge in the *Oz* trial the previous year. Yet despite this the Lords confirmed the conviction of the editors of *IT*, and their sentence (18 months' imprisonment, suspended).

The Lords were also invited to exercise their new power to overrule previous decisions of the House of Lords, by reversing Shaw and declaring that conspiracy to corrupt public morals is an offence unknown to English law; but they declined to do so, on the ground that the need for certainty in

the criminal law overrode any consideration of how wrong in principle the previous decision might have been. This was an extraordinary argument, since the basic objection to having a crime of conspiracy to corrupt public morals is that its scope is so inherently uncertain. Nobody knows what conduct is covered by the offence—does it extend to wife-swapping, or providing contraceptives to unmarried girls, or advocating the legalisation of cannabis? All these could be conspiracies to corrupt public morals, if a jury considered them to be conduct which is 'destructive of the very fabric of society' (a test proposed by Lord Simon in the *IT* case). As Lord Reid observed in his powerful dissent in *Shaw*, 'you cannot tell what is criminal except by guessing what view a jury will take': but the jury system was never meant to be an alternative for properly enunciated law, and it is no more the function of the jury than it is of the judiciary to act as legislators in penal matters.

Similar objections apply to the most recent growth-point of conspiracy, the new offence of conspiracy to trespass. This offence came before the House of Lords in the case of *Kamara and others*, 11 students from Sierra Leone who occupied their High Commission in London for half a day in 1971 as a protest against their government (the father of at least one of them was under sentence of death at the time). Once again the conspiracy count was unnecessary because the students were also charged with unlawful assembly, and their appeal against conviction on this count was on strictly technical grounds, which failed. Once again the House of Lords, in considering the conspiracy charge, had to decide whether such an offence was known to the law, and if so what were its limits. The Court of Appeal, caught up in the tangles of Lord Denman's definition, had held that since trespass is an unlawful act, any agreement to commit a trespass is indictable as a conspiracy. The consequences were, to say the least, wide-sweeping: if two people out for a walk in the country agreed to take a short cut across a field, they were no longer merely civilly liable to the landowner (who would receive nominal damages and a heavy bill for costs if he brought legal proceedings), but they were now guilty of a criminal offence. The old sign Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted was not such a wooden lie after all!

Fortunately the House of Lords did not approve this absurd result, but they were reluctant to accept the submission of defence counsel (Sir Dingle Foot) that there is no such offence as conspiracy to trespass, although there was no lack of authority for this proposition. Mindful perhaps of how useful such an offence would be in dealing with squatters, demonstrators and university sit-ins, they decided that such an offence does exist—but subject to two limitations: an agreement to trespass is now a crime (a) if it involves the invasion of the public domain, or (b) if it is intended to inflict on the landowner something more than purely nominal damage. Quite apart from the difficulties which will face the courts who have to apply these two tests, the main criticism must be that once again the Lords were indulging in judicial legislation; and in a notably sensitive area of the law, for the Conservative Government had just shelved its plans for creating a new offence of criminal trespass. Had Mr. Heath attempted to convince the House of Commons that the country urgently required a Public Order Bill which

enacted a new offence of conspiracy to trespass, there would have been a public debate on the subject and doubtless vigorous opposition, which might at the end of the day have been successful (The Society of Conservative Lawyers were themselves extremely doubtful about the desirability of an offence of criminal trespass). And yet as the *New Statesman* noted at the time, when the Lords gave judgment in this case, 'conspiracy to trespass became the law of the land just as if it had been unanimously passed on the third reading of the Public Order (Suppression of Free Speech and Political Protest) Act 1973.' Emotive language, perhaps; but it is an emotive subject and best left by the courts for Parliament to deal with.

Fortunately Parliament will soon have the opportunity to look at the law of conspiracy, and not before time. Just a month after judgment had been given in *Kamara* the Law Commission's Working Party reported their provisional conclusion that conspiracy should be restricted to agreements to commit crimes: i.e. that conspiracy to corrupt public morals, conspiracy to outrage public decency, conspiracy to trespass etc. should all go.

> It seems to us not merely desirable, the Working Party announced, but obligatory that legal rules imposing serious criminal sanctions should be stated with the maximum clarity which the imperfect medium of language can attain. The offence of conspiracy to do an unlawful act offends against that precept in two ways. First, it is impossible in some cases even to state the rules relating to the object of criminal agreements except in terms which are at best tautologous and unenlightening. Secondly, in those cases where at least a statement of the offence is possible, that statement covers such a wide range of conduct that it is impossible to decide (assuming a set of facts established) whether an offence has been committed or not. It seems to us, therefore, that the offence of conspiracy to do an unlawful, though not criminal, act ought to have no place in a modern system of law.

This was not the only aspect of conspiracy law on which the views of the Law Commission have shown a marked divergency from the more conservative views of the judiciary. Another evil of conspiracy mentioned at the beginning of this article is that the sentence is at large, and occasionally the courts avail themselves of this rule in order to bypass the maximum punishment laid down by Parliament. A good example of this sort of abuse occurred in the Shrewsbury Building Workers' trial last year, when some of the 'flying pickets' were prosecuted for intimidation under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875. The maximum sentence laid down by the Act for this offence is three months' imprisonment; but because the defendants were charged with conspiracy to intimidate, the judge was able to sentence one of them to three years' imprisonment and another to two years. This practice has also been approved by the House of Lords, in *Verrier v. D.P.P.* (1965). But it has been roundly condemned by the Law Commission, who have laid on record their view that where the penalty is thought to be inadequate, then it is for Parliament to provide a higher penalty, and not for the prosecution to sidestep that process by bringing charges of conspiracy.

I would have liked, if space permitted, to have discussed the Law Commission's proposals in greater detail, and to have examined perhaps the most nebulous head of conspiracy of all, the offence of conspiracy to effect a public mischief. But in a short article I have had to be selective and it has

not been possible to enumerate nearly all the defects of our present law of conspiracy. I will have achieved my purpose if I have shown how the judges, if left to develop the law on their own, can sometimes go badly off the rails; how essential the Law Commission is, to put them back on the right track again; and how strong is the case for reform of our arbitrary and dangerous law of conspiracy.

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COMEBACK FOR COAL

An assessment of the future prospects for Britain's Coal Mining Industry

by C. J. White

IT is an accepted fact that Britain's industrial might was founded largely on its plentiful supplies of high quality coal and that the Industrial Revolution depended for its impetus, to an important degree, on the apparently inexhaustible supplies of fuel readily available.

Coal has been mined in this country since Roman times. By the Middle Ages its use as a fuel was so established that smoke pouring from household chimneys was condemned in the cities as a nuisance.

Shades of our modern Clean Air Acts!

During the 18th and 19th centuries coal production increased steadily, in pace with the country's industrial development. By the early years of the present century it reached its peak when, apart from domestic consumption, nearly a hundred million tons was exported in one year.

The reasons for the decline in the industry since those prosperous days are many, and to some people inexplicable in the light of our present circumstances. Especially in view of the fact that it is now necessary to import coal from abroad to augment what is being produced from our lamentably depleted coalfields.

Various circumstances combined to bring about a gradual decline from peak production. The easier won seams were becoming exhausted. Many of the smaller mining companies had not the financial reserves required for the exploitation of deeper and more difficult seams. Two World Wars saw the loss of the industry's export trade. Reparations, the years of depression and labour troubles meant that there were more downs than ups on output graphs posted on the walls of management offices.

Nationalisation in 1947 seemed to promise the dawn of a new era—at least to those employed in the industry. Coal was now in short supply, and no expense was to be spared in an effort to increase production. Some of the larger combines had introduced modern methods but many of the individual collieries had become rundown and inefficient from lack of investment.

Money was poured into the industry with what many people regarded as a reckless abandon. One thousand million pounds was spent in ten years, much of it on pits that never warranted expenditure and were eventually closed as inefficient or unproductive.

Nevertheless, reorganisation and mechanisation at last brought results, once more in the form of more coal than was wanted! A pruning process began, both in individual units and of the work force. What had been 1,000 pits at Nationalisation shrank to less than half that number. The number employed declined from one million to less than a quarter the amount.

The main reason for such instability in Britain's coal mining industry is undoubtedly the failure of successive governments to formulate a realistic

energy policy. Coal has continued to be a plaything for the politician; a political football, perhaps.

The effect of the introduction of oil into our economy was insidious. Its advantages over coal were numerous and obvious; moreover, it was both cheap and plentiful. Politicians of all parties seemed oblivious to any possibility of supplies being interrupted or becoming more expensive. Those in authority acquiesced in a decline of the country's indigenous coal production in favour of a continuing dependence on the whim or astute bargaining powers of Arabian oil sheikhs.

What should have been foreseen is now happening. Apart from the question of an uncertain supply, we have to face the problem of vastly increased payments, with a consequent catastrophic effect on our Balance of Payments.

What mystifies many people is that countries such as Russia and the U.S., with their own substantial reserves of natural gas and petroleum, have yet not allowed their coal mining industries to languish. South Africa, with no oil or gas, manufactures petrol and a variety of chemicals from her own coal seams. Should we not also have seen the writing on the wall?

Britain's energy requirements will, in the long term, be assured from the oil and natural gas fields that are now being developed around our shores. In the meantime, there appears to be every prospect of a Comeback for Coal.

Forecasts of the results to be expected from North Sea developments are optimistic in the amount that will eventually be forthcoming. Yet it must also be remembered that duration of the flow is problematical. Our native reserves of coal now proved are sufficient for at least the next hundred years.

Announcements have already been made of the allocation of large sums for new developments. The exploitation of recent discoveries of new areas of good coal is already in hand. Most important of all, however, is the urgent necessity to establish a contented and expanding work force.

The miner's present discontent stems mainly from a fundamental disparity in the rewards offered him when compared with that of others. The fact that he has long seemed to suffer in silence was due largely to the insecurity of his employment. A continued rundown of the industry, with pit closures, redundancy and the threat of unemployment, combined to prevent his unrest from erupting into open revolt.

For generations the miner was segregated in his colliery village, tied to his pit from birth to death, in many ways regarded as a race apart. Those days are now long past, and he is the equal of others in education and outlook. He knows of the conditions enjoyed by those fortunates employed in offices and factories, and how much better off than he they are financially.

When he discovers that a dolly-bird secretary, for instance, can earn more than a miner, he is quite likely to feel unjustly treated. Such inequalities may be explained by the application of the law of supply and demand. Yet at last coal is said to be vital to our economy, in particular during the

present winter, and supply is less than demand. The miner now seems determined to cash in. Who can blame him?

Most people accept that coal mining is dangerous, yet few can have any idea of the real nature of such an occupation. Any attempt to describe the environmental conditions that obtain in the bowels of the earth would be futile, but they can be imagined. There is plenty of literature available on the subject. Mechanisation has eased many of the laborious tasks, but it is still dark, dusty, damp, and can be acutely uncomfortable.

Most workers commute to their place of work and are able to start at once. For the miner there are various important preliminaries. Arrived at his pit, he changes into his pit suit, obtains a lamp, check, tools or implements before going below ground. Then follows a long and uncomfortable journey before he reaches his destination. A modern innovation is an underground transport system, designed to enable him to arrive quicker and less exhausted. In other days it could have meant a walk of a mile or more, perhaps uphill, always arduous and inconvenient.

At his place of work the amenities of canteen and toilet facilities are entirely absent. He depends for the air he breathes on a mechanical system of ventilation.

At the end of his working shift the preliminaries are repeated in reverse. The journey to the shaft or tunnel mouth, lamp cabin, check office and bathhouse. Only when bathed and dressed in clean clothes again can he really feel sure that his shift has ended.

These necessary adjuncts of his occupation, part of which are included in his actual working hours, constitute one of the miner's grievances, coupled to the risk he runs of death, disablement or industrial disease. Despite significant improvements in safety measures, this still remains an ever present possibility.

One other reason for the miner's discontent, and one which perhaps has not been given sufficient publicity, is the system of payment. In recent years bargaining for individual or collective incentives has almost entirely disappeared. The reasons are deep rooted.

In the days of free enterprise, junior supervisory staff was invariably selected from the best of the work force. These officials were well acquainted with the ability and problems of the workmen under their charge. Apart from basic wage rates, payment for much of the work done was reached by mutual agreement between workmen and official.

The miner was traditionally an individualist. He expected his reward to be commensurate with his experience, ability and adaptability. He was usually content that this was assessed by those who were themselves known to be skilled in every aspect of coal getting.

The introduction of machine mining inevitably brought a change in emphasis from the individual to the team, and incentive payments were varied in accordance. Yet at the same time a radical change was taking place in the selection of staff.

In line with the Coal Board's training programme, potential recruits were given instruction courses for junior management posts. Much of their

knowledge is thus theoretical, and of course necessary in view of the complex machinery now in use. Yet in coal mining, as in few other industries, experience in all aspects of coal production can only be gained by actual participation in the basic processes. Many of today's supervisors are unqualified to assess the worth of the individual workman, or even of a team.

The miner has always been well-blessed—or maybe otherwise—in having articulate and outspoken spokesmen. Inevitably, some of these representatives have become out of touch with the conditions obtaining in modern methods of mining. Whether this was the reason, or perhaps the rank and file was insufficiently canvassed, in recent years the system of payment has undergone a radical change.

All systems of piecework or incentive payments were abolished in favour of flat rate amounts depending on the grade of work performed. Higher management was optimistic that this change would make for peace in the industry. Those in closer contact were of an opposite opinion. They were well aware of the inevitable friction that would result when the raw recruit was paid at the same rate as the miner with years of experience.

The future of the coal mining industry, a realistic Comeback for Coal, will depend upon how competently these basic disagreements are redressed. The miner's reward must be related to his conditions of work as compared with those in more sheltered employment. Regard must be given to the necessary preliminaries he has to undergo both before and after completion of his actual working shift. Most important of all, despite the result of the recent coalfields' ballot, is the need to devise an acceptable incentive scheme. The miner is still an individualist and expects his earnings to be related to ability, effort, experience and adaptability.

It is surely enlightening that higher management, who were responsible for the introduction of flat rate payments, are now anxious for the return of an incentive. Maybe subsequent negotiations should be left to those who are closer to the work force at the collieries, and are acquainted with actual working conditions.

Recruitment now has first priority, and the Coal Board has need to revise its method of selecting junior staff grades. These officials must be experienced men who are respected by those they supervise. The technician is essential for the operation of modern machines, but a knowledge of practical procedures is as vital as ever.

Britain needs more coal. There is plenty available, waiting to be mined. A realistic incentive scheme, applied by an experienced staff, would suffice to produce it in plenty. An added inducement would be to convince the miner that the industry's record of periodical shortage and glut is past history, and that a stable future is assured. But of course he has heard it all before! Perhaps he intends to make hay while the sun shines?

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life in the South Wales coal mining industry, most of the time as a Certificated Calling Manager, supervising underground production. Latterly, he served as a specialist engineer to the National Coal Board. Publications include *An Introduction to the Coal Mining Industry*, Colin Venton Ltd., Melksham, Wilts. £2.25.]

It may be of interest to note that in July 1974 the Commission of the European Communities approved a series of substantial loans to the British coal and steel industries, to help finance development projects in several parts of the country. Loans approved this year for the British coal and steel industry total £78.9 million. The normal interest rate is related to European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) borrowing costs and is at present 9¼ per cent. In some cases loans benefit from a 3 per cent rebate below the normal rate for the first five years.

'In the European Community, Britain's coal and steel production has outstanding potential.' This is a main conclusion from a recent Commission survey of investment in the coal and steel industries of the European Community. The survey suggests that if there are no further commitments to major new products, Europe's coal production will decline even below present estimates, while steel production will not be able to maintain its present rate of growth throughout the next decade.

The United Kingdom runs counter to Community trends, says the survey. Recent investments in the British coal industry have actually increased potential production and the British Steel Corporation's new programme should raise the annual increase in potential steel production above the average for recent years.

A more detailed report is to be published. Meanwhile the conclusions are as follows:

Community coal production is unlikely even to maintain its present level between now and 1977 unless investment intentions change significantly. The potential amount of coal which could be mined in a year fell from 166 to 155 million metric tonnes between 1972 and 1973 and is expected to fall by a further 31 million tonnes to a level of only 124 million tonnes by 1977. Only in the United Kingdom do estimates anticipate an increase in extraction potential; from 130 million tonnes in 1973 to 140 million tonnes in 1977.

Capital expenditure in coal mines remains low. In 1973 it totalled some £170 million, compared with £145 million in 1972. There are some signs of commitments to higher rates of investment, particularly in the UK, but if there are no new investment decisions coal production in the Community could fall to a level lower than that of present estimates.

For Copies of the Report, Background Notes and further information please apply to European Communities Commission, 20 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8 4QQ.—*Editor.*

RURAL CAR SERVICES AND OTHER WAYS TO REVIVE THE RURAL TRANSPORT NETWORK

by D. G. Rhys and M. J. Buxton

AT the present time public transport in rural areas is facing a crisis as the wholesale withdrawal of bus services leaves many areas isolated. The seriousness of the situation was such that in 1971 the Rural District Council's Association foreshadowed the rapid disappearance of 20 per cent of Britain's rural bus services. In some rural areas bus services are still viable commercially; in others, load factors are such that, although making a loss, the subsidised bus service is still the best way to meet the public transport needs of the area. However, in certain parts of the country, traffic is so sparse and losses so great that subsidies for bus services are not forthcoming and even if they were the expenditure would represent a waste of resources. In such areas the social use of the private car, either subsidised or non-subsidised, provided the best way to save the public transport network.

The transport situation in rural areas looks very bleak unless such ideas are adopted. Nevertheless this advocacy of an increased role for the car or the mini-bus in providing rural services has in the past provoked a certain amount of scepticism. It has been suggested that such a public transport role for the car was unrealistic and prone to too many drawbacks. However, it is possible now to report that such services are either being organised or actually operational, and practical solutions to some of the difficulties have already been found. Such services have been established, for example, in parts of Lincolnshire and a similar scheme is envisaged in a part of Flintshire; in these cases the local authorities have encouraged the establishment of the social car service with the Women's Royal Volunteer Service doing most of the groundwork. It bears repeating that the social car is not seen as a competitor with the bus but only as an answer to the public transport needs of those areas where traffic is insufficient to justify even a subsidised bus service, and where a subsidised public car service would be a more efficient use of resources. In short, the choice is not between the bus and the public car, but between the car and no form of public transport at all. It is also worth pointing out that, in the sparsely populated rural areas that we are considering, problems of traffic congestion are hardly likely to result from the services proposed and so no allowance is necessary for such social costs.

Information kindly supplied by T. M. Haydn Rees, Chief Executive Officer of Flintshire County Council, gives us a clear picture of what is involved in providing an embryonic social car service. The organisation of such a scheme in the Maelor Rural District was left to those with local expertise and knowledge, namely the W.R.V.S. and various village representatives. A list of people willing to act as drivers (using their own vehicles) was compiled on one side of the supply and demand equation, with a list of

people who would need the service on the other. A mileage payment of 4p a mile would be the 'commercial' inducement to people to volunteer their services. Quite clearly the service is intended to be far more than just a glorified ambulance service, as Flintshire believed that not only the elderly and handicapped but also housewives with or without young children would be the most likely customers. The 'routes' to be covered would be: to visit nearby towns, to visit friends or relations in hospitals and to visit doctors, chemists, etc., where there are either no available bus services or where the bus service is inadequate. In other words, the duplication of an existing bus route is not ruled out.

Flintshire envisaged that local representatives would have absolute discretion with regard to the request for transport and it was also intended that the car service could provide a feeder service to bus routes if the distance to the bus stop is great and causes inconvenience, as is very often the case in rural areas. Therefore the social car can help the commercial bus operator and dovetail into a wider rural transport network.

At the moment, payment by users cannot be contemplated nor could there be a 'right' to be carried. This is due to the licensing laws governing the operation of public service vehicles, and also due to a desire to demonstrate that the Maelor Rural District's scheme did not seek to compete with existing services provided by bus operators, but merely to provide a service where none existed or where the bus service was inadequate—the latter does show that some *implicit* competition is intended nevertheless, if only to goad the bus company into improving its product.

All drivers need a comprehensive insurance policy with a 'hire and reward' provision plus insurance for third party for those inside and outside the vehicle.

The detailed administration of the scheme is in the hands of the W.R.V.S. local organiser, and the volunteer driver would be given a simple log sheet so that all journeys made could be recorded. This is then sent to the local organiser once a month who in turn sends it to the W.R.V.S. County Organiser for the mileage claims to be dealt with. The Local Authority provides a float for payment to the W.R.V.S. and a monthly return would need to be sent to the Local Authority of the number of journeys done and the amount expended, for payment by the Local Authorities concerned. It would also be necessary to pay the telephone calls of the village representative, and it is felt by Flintshire that this should also be undertaken by the Local Authority.

An experimental operational period of six months is anticipated; Flintshire will then review the position in the light of the response and working experience gained. However, at present, the Road Traffic Act (1968) requires Public Service Vehicle licences, if 'separate fares' are to be charged. Hence the Maelor scheme can have no contribution from passengers. This is an important point: Flintshire County Council rightly recognise that the lack of an opportunity for the passengers even to contribute towards the cost may inhibit their use of the service. It would be tragic if the social car became an extension of social security rather than an integral part of the

rural transport infrastructure.

This scheme, then, which now awaits final approval from the Welsh Office and Department of the Environment, is a step forward, but still some way from the public transport use of the car as proposed by the authors. What is envisaged, in effect, is the use of the car as a small bus but with greater flexibility than is allowed at present to the bus operators.

The Government is clearly aware of the need for something along these lines, for in July 1971 it announced proposals to exempt small vehicles, with seats for less than 15 people, from the bus licensing scheme. According to the Department of the Environment, it is still the Government's intention to make changes to the bus licensing system as soon as the Parliamentary timetable permits, although the exact form and content cannot be finally determined at this stage. However, the proposals announced in July 1971 suggested that operators of vehicles seating eight or more passengers would continue to require a public service vehicle licence in order to offer a public service by way of trade but would not require a licence to give private or casual lifts for payment. Operators of smaller vehicles—under 8 seats—would not require a PSV licence under any circumstances, but the existing statutory controls on taxis or hire cars would apply if they offered a public service by way of trade or business.

In short, private cars and mini-buses would be able to give lifts to passengers for payment, but private drivers who wished to operate small vehicles for trade would still have to apply for the appropriate licence based on taxi or hire-car legislation. This seems to suggest that a service provided by part-time volunteers using cars could be provided on a regular public service basis without involving the costs and complexities of applying for a PSV licence. Then in many instances the car could provide a cheap, flexible mode of public transport, appropriate to passengers' needs.

Until these proposals, to exempt the car and mini-bus from PSV regulations, are carried out, such schemes as that at Maelor cannot charge 'separate fares'. However, when these proposals become fact, the public service car could then be allowed to operate in designated areas but not along routes covered by rural bus services. As we envisage, the public service car would need a general authorisation from the Traffic Commissioners. This would have to be displayed in some way or other, so that any attempt to poach on existing bus routes at, or near, the time when the regular bus service was due could be policed and prevented. The efficient service we envisage would depend upon a limited panel of cars and drivers with the necessary permission, standard of vehicle, and driving competence. A state-run insurance scheme to cover the use of one's own car in the interests of wider rural community would still be necessary, unless the authorities would be prepared to pay the extra commercial premiums incurred.

The public use of the car on the rather limited social car services in Lincolnshire and Flintshire shows what can be done. To allow the scheme to become integrated into the rural transport network, and to become a genuine public transport car service, still requires amendment to PSV

regulations, allied to a special insurance scheme. Both the car, in its private and social use, and the bus, have roles to play in bringing the advantages of mobility to all the country dwellers of the late twentieth century. It would be a pity if bus operators, who have already withdrawn many services as unremunerative, came out in opposition to the type of thinking contained in this paper on the grounds that the use of the car as portrayed here would harm them. The car and the bus operators have their own vital roles to play in the rural transport network, often to mutual advantage. Changes are occurring, already the 'post' bus is spreading, a few services have operated since 1968 and in August 1973 the 25th service was introduced at Dorking only 25 miles from London. The GPO in Scotland hoped to have 50 routes operating by the end of 1973 and 500 by 1983, on a profit-making basis. The GPO demands two conditions to be met for a new route to be introduced. It has to meet a demand without clashing with existing bus services and the mail service must be given priority. However, the Post Office is very willing to introduce such services as vans have to be run along the route anyway, and as the Post-bus is a PSV, the D.O.E. pays half the capital cost and gives a fuel tax rebate; in addition, local councils have shown themselves willing to make up any loss after fares have been collected. So to the car and the minibus can be added the Post Office minibus cum mail van as another way to meet the need for rural transport. The vested interest of existing bus operators can be respected but it cannot be allowed to veto new and perhaps more efficient ways of providing a transport service, especially as care is taken not to compete head on with the bus service.

As evidence of what is possible in the way of reviving a public rural transport network we could not improve on the results of the free bus service introduce in the remote Herefordshire village of Ballingham during a two week period in October 1972. (The Automobile Association helped the village sub-postmaster to run a village passenger service to both Ross and Hereford.) The railway service was axed in 1964 and the British rail subsidised bus service ended in 1971. Those who needed to travel to work had cars, but wives, children and the elderly were marooned. The elderly commented that it was easier to get to Ross or Hereford before 1914 than it was in 1972, the nearest surviving bus route being a three mile walk from the village. The economic objective of the proposed AA backed service was to show how the previously mentioned proposed D.O.E. legislation could change the pattern of rural life 'by anticipating it and actually running a service as if it were already in effect' (*Drive*, 1973, No. 24, p.46), although no fares could be charged. A village meeting indicated the times when the thrice weekly service would be most useful. In the event, the service brought back memories of the old village carrier, i.e. goods and passengers. Each trip was filled to capacity with the elderly and young mothers. The service can provide the economist with a rudimentary but actual demand curve. Most people thought the service worth *at least* 40p return, if not more, so 'consumer surplus' was created. If the bus could have been used as a 'village carrier', then by using a minibus instead of a van, the local sub-postmaster could have taken another £12 a week. This would have been all

net revenue as extra expenses would have been tiny with the delivery van cum post office van already having to be used. The importance of the D.O.E.'s proposals is illustrated by the following comment: 'When this new law is passed I reckon we'll get back to those good old days', i.e., when a pony and trap loaded with people and parcels gave a regular, if sedate, link between village and town. As a result of the AA experiment, a number of local authorities in the area are hoping to provide permanent, partly-subsidised bus services. In short, the various proposals and schemes discussed in this paper show that the rural transport problems are capable of solution.

Thus it would appear that it is quite feasible to establish a rural public transport service based on the car, the minibus, the GPO van or the general carrier if both the local will and the traffic laws allow. It has been demonstrated that a demand for such services exists. The alternative ways of providing public transport discussed in this analysis are not seen as substitutes for, or a threat to, existing commercial bus services or undertakings. They would be used only where such bus services have been found wanting or indeed have been withdrawn entirely. Some routes, although unprofitable, are so heavily patronised that only a subsidised bus service is suitable. In other cases a bus service may be heavily subsidised when a public transport car would need to have a smaller subsidy or might even operate profitably whilst providing a similar if not improved service. Smaller subsidies, or profitability on a full cost or at least a marginal cost basis, would produce a smaller call on public funds and be more acceptable to those responsible for dispersing public monies. In practice, very few existing bus services would be turned over to car services, but such a scheme might save some services scheduled for withdrawal and, more important, resurrect those already withdrawn. The bus is far from dead in rural areas but in areas where it is dying or already buried, new approaches must be tried to remove the isolation of communities, an isolation worse than anything experienced since the railway and horse and cart era dawned. These alternative approaches, while helping society as a whole, will also help the existing bus companies to carry on doing what they are most efficient at whilst still largely protected by the licensing provisions of the Traffic Acts.

It is noteworthy that the Road Traffic Bill introduced on November 1st, 1973 closely followed the Department of Employment's 1971 proposals, despite some detailed changes. It was proposed that vehicles (including cars) carrying less than nine passengers or mini-buses not carrying more than twelve, or in certain circumstances fifteen, passengers on a *casual* basis could operate *anywhere*. However, mini-buses operated on a full-time commercial passenger service vehicle basis could only operate in rural areas and even then only on roads where there was no specified bus route or on days when no established bus service was operated. Furthermore, although the rural mini-bus was exempt from road service licensing, it would still benefit from the fuel tax rebate, rural bus service grant and capital grants for new buses. The provisions of the bill meant that private owners of cars and mini-buses were to be exempt from the formal requirements of the

public service licensing system, mainly to help rural areas. The provisions of the bill made it clear that such vehicles were only to operate on the margins of the public transport network, where either regular bus services had disappeared, or had passed the point of even grant aided viability. Nevertheless, the commercial bus-undertakings were against these proposals on the grounds that it would lead to the sacrifice of many more rural services. It has been our contention that this would have been unlikely given the constraints placed on vehicles operating as PSVs outside the licensing system in the proposed Act. Unfortunately, this potential lifeline to rural transport was still at the committee stage when Parliament was dissolved prior to the general election of February 1974. As a result, the bill was 'lost' and the fresh approach to the rural transport problem must re-await parliamentary resurrection.

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ISRAEL AND EGYPT—A MODERN MYTH

by M. C. Jones

UP at the kibbutz they're getting in the oranges. Bronzed young men and women laugh and joke as they stack the crates of golden fruit, product of months of anxious labour under the threat of war. Aren't they afraid of what the future may bring? 'You get kinda fatalistic', says an economics graduate from Ohio, stretching a weary back and standing to wipe the sweat from his blonde hair. His pretty wife, who studied literature at Cambridge, nods her agreement: 'This land is ours by right—we feel that.'

What brings these young, educated, ambitious and often sensitive and articulate people from comfortable jobs and affluent homes to farm a hostile wilderness? One doesn't have to be Jewish to understand the reason. It is enough to be idealistic, adventurous—and young. Says fifty-year-old Ezra Cohen, fugitive from Nazi persecution and veteran of three wars: 'You have to understand how the young people see themselves. They know they're Israel's future.'

Meanwhile in Liberation Square, Cairo, bugles sound as the troops march by in their thousands; an impressive display, with Russian-made equipment —rockets, tanks and guns. Pictures of Nasser and Sadat are carried past by *fellahin;* a detachment of the Women's Industrial Union sings patriotic songs and throws flowers. Somewhere off-screen Arab guerrillas hijack aeroplanes and perform assorted acts of sabotage.

Egypt, over-populated by millions of semi-literate peasants, always seeking an opportunity for territorial expansion, only needed the sign from Moscow to send the tanks once more rolling into Sinai (or Sina, as the Arabs like to call it). One glance at the map shows that the Israelis, though Europeanised and theoretically superior, have been fighting against suicidal odds for their very survival. . . . That myths such as these are self-evidently true to anyone in Britain who doesn't read the papers, and to some who do, needs explanation.

In a British opinion poll conducted during the October 6th war of 1973, only 7 per cent of those interviewed were pro-Arab, 57 per cent were 'undecided' or 'neutral', and the rest, 36 per cent, supported Israel. Although it was the Israelis who only four months ago dropped napalm and ingenious booby-traps disguised as fountain-pens and toy watches in the Egyptian Delta, they seem—judging from the poll, at least—to have retained their reputation as basically humane, peace-loving defenders of their homeland, who prefer farming or sunbathing by the Dead Sea to carrying on the unequal struggle to hold back the power-crazed Arab aggressor. And this in spite of the fact that abstract considerations of justice would seem to require support, if not for the Arab world as a whole, at least for the cause of the Palestinians.

The Balfour Declaration gave the Jews a homeland at the cost, ultimately, of depriving thousands of Arabs of theirs; just as the Jewish settlers in

the course of time forced people out into the surrounding desert to a squalid existence in refugee camps, and in some cases razed whole villages, in a dubious attempt to 'safeguard boundaries'. That we dare, in the circumstances, to represent the Arabs as the primary aggressors is obtuse, at the very least.

No doubt one reason the great majority of people in the West give so little attention to the past, present and continuing miseries of the Palestinians is the wish to expiate feelings of guilt towards the victims of Nazi persecution who have gone to make a new life in Israel—a guilt which has been alleviated at the Arabs' expense. That the Israelis' attitude towards the Palestinian Arabs, and occasionally their behaviour—forcible shifting of populations, systematic use of torture in dealing with members of resistance movements—in some ways resembles that of the Nazis and others towards Jews in Russia and Europe, seems to have escaped notice. Popular tradition still, and rightly, records the history of Jewish suffering; but a Palestinian *Fiddler on the Roof* has yet to be written.

A contributing factor to pro-Israeli prejudice is the support given to Israel by the media, sometimes even—though unintentionally, no doubt—on supposedly objective news broadcasts. The B.B.C., generally celebrated for its impartiality in political matters, was guilty of bias through omission in its report of President Sadat's wartime speech in October this year. When Sadat listed his five requirements for a peace settlement and expressed willingness to respect 'the legitimate rights of all the area's people', it would have been reasonable at least to give the President the benefit of the doubt as to whether he meant what he said, and to accord this central aspect of his speech the prominence it seemed even then to deserve. Yet the first B.B.C. report of his words—subsequent, fuller broadcasts were more accurate—ignored the basically conciliatory tone, and quoted out of context remarks about Egypt's preparedness for 'a long war', and her possession of weapons capable of striking 'at the heart of Israel'.

Egyptians themselves, who are not usually much consulted by Westerners before the latter draw their conclusions, do not consider themselves to be anything other than justified in going to war this year. They regard the war as an honourable attempt to win back the land stolen from them; and though I, conditioned to pacifism, find the attitude hard to understand, have to believe the boy, a pupil at a school in Luxor, who said to a friend: 'How would you feel if foreigners came and took part of Scotland from you? Wouldn't you fight to get it back?' That ordinary Egyptians, even if only because they have been brainwashed, felt and feel like this about Sinai,—how many people know or care?

Westerners do not in fact have a very clear idea about Egyptians or the Arab world in general. They know, or think they know, from any number of films and magazine articles, what Israel is like; but about Arab history, Arab literature, or the daily life of an ordinary Egyptian family—about everything which makes people of one cultural group sympathetic to people of another, Western ignorance is complete.

Admittedly, in the area of public relations the Arabs do not do much to

help themselves. From time to time the Egyptian Ministry of Information produces little booklets with off-putting titles such as *World Public Opinion on the Current Aggression in the Middle East*, which seem intended to prove, by selective quotation, that everyone supports them; and for home consumption there are wall-calendars decorated with minarets and guided missiles with, in the foreground, rows of armed, ferocious nationals looking quite unlike the friendly people one meets every day in the street or in their homes. Neither does much to encourage the idea that Egyptians are human beings.

All the Egyptian foreign publicity not directly concerned with the war is devoted strictly to tourism, to promoting Luxor and the Pyramids more and more cheaply to ever larger numbers of people, still with little apparent realisation that the Egyptians themselves, their hopes and ideals and habits of thought are not known or understood.

Tourist advertising itself is not always given the attention it might have. An Egyptian friend who had been on holiday in London told us how she once passed a travel agent's where all the displays advertising holidays in various countries were brightly illuminated, except for the Egyptian one, which was in darkness. When she complained to the agency staff about this apparent neglect of Egyptian interest, they apologised, but said the Egyptians hadn't paid their electricity bill.

This incident, though it has its comic side, is also sobering and typical, a parable from which the Arabs and their sympathisers can learn. The past four months have presumably been bringing the Middle East nearer to a state of settled peace; but it will take rather longer for Europeans and Americans to forget—as they should—the distorted view of the Arab world instilled into them in the days of Nasser and the Cold War.

In a truthful picture, admittedly, there is much they will not like—the relative lack of freedom of speech, the huge differences between rich and poor, the suffering and frustration of women treated as inferior beings which are common to most traditional and developing societies. None of this should obscure the fact that there are millions and millions of sympathetic, kind and witty individuals who compose the Arab nation. But if the Arab peoples wish to be represented fairly abroad they must provide more than dry facts and repetitive propaganda, must use the media to help us understand, in cultural and human terms, what they are like. And we must be ready to listen!

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

by Rosalind Wade

Northanger Abbey and *Persuasion*. Jane Austen. Macdonald and Jane's. £1.60 each. *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, Introduction by Eric Ambler, and *His Last Bow*, Introduction by Julian Symons. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. John Murray and Jonathan Cape. £2.95 and £2.50. *The Woodlanders*, Introduction by David Lodge. Thomas Hardy. Macmillan. 50p. *A Day's Loving*. Hubert Gregg. Bachman and Turner. £3.30. *Tropic of Ruislip*. Leslie Thomas. Eyre Methuen. £2.25. *Hers*. A. Alvarez. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2.75. *A Game of Patience*. Francis King. Hutchinson. £2.75. *The Ebony Tower*. John Fowles. Jonathan Cape. £2.50.

From time to time, along with the new season's fiction, come complete re-issues of the work of major classic writers. The close of the publishing year included several of these, the most notable being the novels of Jane Austen and Thomas Hardy and the novels and short stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The Conan Doyle and Hardy re-issues all include perceptive and informative Forewords. The Jane Austen novels, beautifully presented in the Macdonald Classic series, are without Introductions. Thus the reader is left unaided to puzzle out why *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* made only a posthumous appearance, earning scant financial or critical reward.

Much has been made of the harsh treatment Jane Austen received from the London firm, Messrs. Crosbie and Sons, following their outright purchase of the rights of *Northanger Abbey* for the modest sum of £10. It was her third novel, bravely embarked upon in her twenty-eighth year after the family removal to Bath, despite the discouragement that *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* were still unpublished. In fact, an objective re-reading of the spontaneous, though immature work, goes some way to provide an explanation for Crosbie's eventual refusal to publish; for *Northanger Abbey* emerges as a rather guileless tale of Bath social life, with too little substance or in-depth characterisation and Caroline Morland, with her *deux bras gauches*, lacks appeal when detached from the gallery of other, more attractive heroines.

Nearly two decades later and only three years before her death, Jane Austen again turned to Bath for a setting and began work on her final novel, *Persuasion*. The immense progress in construction and narrative technique is striking; caricatures have become fallible men and women; and, even more important, the heroine, twenty-seven-year-old Anne Elliot, emerges as a sophisticated, self-analysing young woman whose determination to win back the affections of Captain Wentworth is never pursued at the cost of personal dignity. Taken as a whole, this chronicle of a group of 'middling' families moving between rural Somerset, Lyme and Bath, strikes the modern reader as a superb novel of social and personal motivation for any period and by any standards. How much of Jane Austen's personal views and emotional heart searchings were laid bare in *Persuasion* will almost certainly never be revealed.

The situation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's successes stems from entirely opposite conditions. Not only, after a somewhat shaky start for the 'Holmes'

image, did he enjoy phenomenal acclaim at a very early age, but lived long enough to detest the creation which had made him wealthy and famous; for he was convinced, though wrongly, that his serious research and other writings were overshadowed by the popularity of the fictional detective, to such an extent that he deliberately destroyed his hero in an unconvincing punch-up in the Swiss mountains. Inevitably, he relented and revived his incubus, although only after a considerable lapse of time. Comparing the early and vintage Holmes is instructive, even though an intensive re-reading of the 'adventures' induces a traumatic condition which renders subjective assessment difficult.

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, first published in 1892, containing ten stories originally published in *Strand* magazine, is dedicated to the medical professor who is said to have inspired some of Holmes's most endearing idiosyncrasies. During this period, the Jekyll-and-Hyde combination of Holmes and Watson was still to some extent in embryo, while the crudities of the *Sign of Four* and *Study in Scarlet* were being skilfully phased out. Some of the freshest and best aspects of the 'Saga' are to be found in this volume. No 'Holmes' story was destined to outmatch the ingenious *Speckled Band,* that blood-curdling anecdote of an eccentric doctor who sets out to murder his step-daughters with the venom of an Indian swamp adder. It still strikes such a chill of terror as to all but blind the reader to the technical excellence of this crisply presented example of *grand guignol.*

Twenty-five years were to pass before *His Last Bow* appeared in 1917. While containing several of the best known mysteries, such as *Wisteria Lodge, The Devil's Foot,* and *The Cardboard Box,* in which the detective and his partner reappear as familiar, well-rounded personalities, there is nothing here to measure up to the unmasking of the iniquitous Doctor Roylott. What continues to come through is a store of detail relating to a virtually lost England, where urchins ran barefoot and immigrants roamed the streets and alleyways like savage animals, within hailing distance of the complacent, well-to-do gentry.

Turning to that most truly pastoral of English novels, *The Woodlanders,* the reader is again tempted to speculate on the author's attitude of mind when writing it. Thomas Hardy had carried about with him the theme of a group of woodland dwellers for some years before it was convenient for him to get to work on it. Noting that it appeared in 1887, it seems as though he had deliberately gone into reverse while bracing himself for the mammoth creations of Jude and Tess and the harsh condemnation they were to earn for him; although even the delicate and allusive *Woodlanders* received some moralistic censure.

Despite the emphasis on an agrarian community, this is in a sense Hardy's most sophisticated novel; one of the rare occasions when he concentrated some part of the action on a 'woman of the world'. Despite a superficially exotic background, the wealthy landowner, Felice Charmond, has deeper roots in credibility than is generally acknowledged, and proves that Hardy himself fully understood the existence of different social strata in the rural areas and the disastrous impact they might have upon each other. Mrs. Charmond is as much injured as injuring and so has her own claim to sympathy. Thus, a genuine balance is achieved between the affluent and the dispossessed, of a kind not usual in Hardy's novels, together with more than an echo of current social progress, as for instance the reform of the divorce laws, which makes it all the more surprising that his 'best' novel, as Hardy himself once described it, has suffered comparative neglect.

Jane Austen believed that the main function of the novel is to hold up a mirror to the contemporary scene, and three very different portraits of our

own times certainly fulfil this requirement. It would be easy but unfair to dismiss *A Day's Loving*, Hubert Gregg's novel of stage life, as trivial and irrelevant, for triviality and irrelevance are the very conditions of existence he is attempting to convey. Writers have always been attracted to the theatre as a background theme and whatever the period selected, the alternating messages remain the same—the intoxication of applause and the spectre of failure and destitution. The central character of *A Day's Loving*, Christopher Tighson, is a better than average product of modern drama school with a promising future and unlimited sexual conceit. Despite a gruelling existence on tour he retains the necessary energy and enterprise to seduce any personable woman who swims within his orbit.

Yet the upper crust of theatrical life to which he aspires is a far cry from Sunday train-calls and provincial lodgings—a world of exotic house-parties where powerful homosexual impresarios can make or break the career of a personable male actor at a whim and do so, as a reprisal for Christopher's resistance. Told in a series of somewhat jerky flashbacks, the roistering highlights of Christopher's career on and off the stage are vividly conveyed; although bouts of heavy drinking and spells of emotional euphoria do not always take sufficient account of the dull, slogging stretches which make up so much of life in the theatre. But there are episodes which linger in the memory for longer than the scenes of erotic adventure—as for instance the cast congregated round an all-night coffee stall, reading the 'lousy' notices.

In the event, Christopher breaks the system by becoming a best-selling novelist, using for a plot the love ife of one of his closest friends.

Compared with Christopher Tighson and his fellow-actors, the men and women in Leslie Thomas's new novel lead lives of intolerable ennui. Surprisingly, the phenomenally successful author of *The Virgin Soldiers* has selected the suburb of Ruislip as a setting. Predictably, *Tropic of Ruislip* contains many excellent touches, such as the glimpses of a vanishing countryside gradually engulfed by suburbia and the Plummer Park housing estate. It is with the men and women who inhabit this landscape that the trouble sets in. Many of these characters are clearly intended to be comic, yet there is all too little amusement to be gleaned from the amoral wives and their amorous menfolk, despite some humorous excursions into romance. The dominating character, Andrew Maiby, is a journalist on the local paper who was once clearly destined for better things. The peg on which the narrative hangs is a Council proposal to run a home for maladjusted children. One of Andrew's assignments is to investigate local reaction to the scheme. The residents of Plummer Park express varied opinions yet their attitudes are not really of sufficient interest to body out a full-length novel.

At a time when the average man and woman enjoys unlimited freedom and opportunity it is ironic that so many novels are concerned with the lives of very dull people. For his first novel, *Hers*, A. Alvarez, the well-known poet and critic, has chosen as a background one of the older universities. The personality of the central character, a middle-aged Professor of English, is consistently down-graded by emphasis on his unappetising appearance and limitation of outlook. He is unfortunate in having acquired a wife, Julie, many years his junior, who looks at least ten years younger than her actual age. Julie's origins in Nazi Germany are obscure, and have not fitted her for the academic life. Inevitably, she tires of her paunchy husband and selects one of his students to introduce some colour and passion into her drab existence, while refusing to become his mistress in the accepted sense. Complications ensue. The Professor

is beaten up by a gang of thugs; he attempts suicide; Julie has a nervous breakdown and later an abortion. The element of crisis and the build-up of jealousy and frustration are dealt with sincerely and unflinchingly. Thus it is all the more regrettable that this appropriately modern tale seems in the final analysis to lack fire and purpose.

With altogether different intentions, Francis King has set his sights thirty years back, to the final months of World War II. Skilfully, he surmounts the difficulty of making tedium interesting, and the limbo of half-forgotten dreariness is conveyed with a devastating accuracy. His characters are a randomly assembled group—a conscientious objector cursed by a streak of sadistic cruelty; the farmer, an attractive woman attempting to run her husband's smallholding while he is a prisoner of war, and the 'old lady', whose addiction to playing patience provides both title and an allegory for the novel. The only three-dimensional portrait is Valerie, a frighteningly neurotic person who escapes from her oppressive background by becoming a land-girl. Into this bucolic retreat is drafted a unit manning a barrage balloon, where its members create additional stresses and complications. These come over strongly, once the ground has been cleared of several lengthy passages of retrospective explanation, of a kind favoured by novelists a century ago. *A Game of Patience* ends on a muted note. The tidy-minded reader is deprived of hindsight as to what became of the farm and its workers after the Peace and yet, for a picture of that period of stalemate and uncertainty, rightly so.

And finally, a collection of five stories and novella by John Fowles. The critical and commercial success of *The Ebony Tower* proves once again the popularity and effectiveness of short interwoven pieces of varying lengths. Apart from the obvious choice of the long title story, unquestionably the best suited to display the author's singular talent, the free translation of *Eliduc*, together with a biographical note about the twelfth century author of this miniature masterpiece, is the most rewarding.

Also received:

Piper's Leave. Alexander Fullerton. Cassell. £2.30. This frank, rip-roaring fictional account of a real historical character sticks fairly closely to fact in an account of James Allan, a famous piper, of the eighteenth century. In addition, however, to his musical skills Allan pursued a career of seduction and petty crime and these two opposing activities form the main basis of the novel. It is good reading, yet at the same time too colloquial and sketchy to provide an in-depth picture of the crude, brutal way of life in the North of England during the late seventeen hundreds.

The Attorney. Harold K. Masier. Souvenir Press. £2.50. A court-room drama by a successful American writer which should not be too hastily classified as a run-of-the-mill whodunit, for it is very much more, providing interesting revelations of America's judiciary systems and down-to-earth portraits of U.S.A. university students.

The Man Who Liked Cats. Edwin Samuel. Abelard-Schuman. $5.95. This new selection of short stories by Viscount Samuel—a frequent contributor to Contemporary Review—is notable for its variety of theme and characterisation. Some of the stories are frankly light and amusing, as for instance the brief vignette, *Sally*, of a girl who waits in vain for her dream husband; others more serious, such as *Monkey* and *The Kind Man*, both set in the Israel the author knows so well. But whatever the mood, all are told with a sincerity and economy which is refreshing.

NON-FICTION

MINISTERS IN THE MIRROR

British Cabinet Ministers: the Roles of Politicians in Executive Office. Bruce Headey. George Allen & Unwin. £6.50.

'Initiator? Selector? Manager or P.R. Man?' These are the questions a British Cabinet Minister should put to himself on appointment if Dr. Headey's analysis of Ministers' chosen roles is accepted. The distinction is in part artificial, since some Ministers fill various roles and still contrive to be good constituency members and party leaders. Indeed, the ability to be a jack of all trades is one of the enduring features of a system which elevates the amateurism of the professional politician over technocratic skills.

The nearest I have been to the centre of the ministerial scene was as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mrs. Barbara Castle at the Ministry of Transport. Her versatility and drive certainly did not confine her within only one of these roles.

Nevertheless it is disturbing that this survey of the role of Ministers suggests that Labour Ministers are no more and perhaps marginally less likely to be policy initiators than their Tory counterparts. So many decisions have to be taken that it is all too easy for a Minister on achieving office to become a policy selector, accepting the limitations dictated by the civil servants.

It is not easy for the new boy or girl to tell the civil servant to find a way to do what he or she wants, rather than to capitulate to a catalogue of objections presented by experts in a narrow field. Another problem is what to delegate. For example, Michael Foot, a policy initiator and activist in his own right, gave overwhelming priority to industrial relations with great success. But the result was to delegate such matters as health and safety to junior colleagues who were clearly a channel for civil service policy. Perhaps the background of some Labour Ministers presents a difficulty in squaring up to civil servants. In the corridors of Westminster there is as much knowledge of this topic as that which emerges from the ministerial replies to Dr. Headey's questionnaire.

The widespread development of Cabinet Committees, the inter-departmental claims, the way in which Ministers have general influence on policy according to their standing, as well as some international comparisons, are all encompassed in this book. The study combines standard academic research with the sort of readability that the 'Times Insight Team' has brought to analytical journalism. This is not another stuffy examination of cabinet government or constitutional theory.

One is allowed to overhear the off-stage complaints of Ministers — fully justified—about the fragmentation of their work. Less justified in our constituency context is their complaint about their obligations to Parliament and their colleagues within it. Separation of powers is not the British way and although it interferes with efficiency it adds to sensitivity. The reader is invited to look at the criteria of selection. However, Dr. Headey, who is not as familiar with the political dimension, forgets the infighting and patronage which excludes from his study many who might have arrived, but for one or another reason remained outside the Cabinet Room.

Ministers today are accountable to an enquiring and higher quality Parliament (which asked 33,915 questions in the 1966-67 session). Consequently the other side of the coin is that 'civil servants now take decisions which in the past would have been submitted to Ministers'.

Government today is increasingly complex and makes the concept of personal responsibility rather antiquated. Few Ministers would claim a sophisticated appreciation of technical matters. In this new context Dr. Headey's book, although initially more likely to be found in American libraries, at £6.50, should be standard reading for the student of politics. It is well constructed and an interesting change from constitutional theory and egocentric memoirs alike.

PAUL ROSE

A NEW LIFE OF CHRIST

The Life of Christ. Lord Longford. Sidgwick & Jackson.

The Four Gospels were intended to serve as handbooks for mission-preachers charged with the duty of proclaiming a message of salvation, and the content of this message is summarised in the speeches put into the mouth of St. Peter at the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles. It runs: Jesus of Nazareth, 'approved by mighty works and wonders and signs', was 'crucified' and 'raised up' and his victorious achievement is demonstrated by an outpouring of the Spirit now and the prospect of a glorious Return at the end of history's purposeful course. The need, therefore, was felt to be for a Gospel giving a fairly detailed account of Jesus' Passion and post-Resurrection appearances, together with a selection of sayings and wonder-stories which should demonstrate him as the Messiah of Hebrew expectation and offer guidance to his followers on the principles which should govern their everyday activities. There was little interest, beyond this essential framework, in the precise order of events or in details of biography, so that what Albert Schweitzer called 'the quest of the historical Jesus' is accomplished only with some difficulty.

The normal way of setting about the enquiry, adopted by Tatian as early as the second century, consists in building up a 'harmony of the Gospels' by selecting passages from all four to provide a continuous narrative from which are left out such elements as seem so wedded to their own period that they cannot be translated into the idiom of a newer age. Such is the method chosen by Lord Longford, who reconstructs the story of Jesus' life with the help of quotations drawn impartially from all four Gospels and linked together by short and perceptive, sometimes even jaunty, comments. There is no shunning of the miraculous, and incidents such as the Walking on the Water or the Raising of Lazarus are accepted with the straightforward literalism of the Catacomb artists rather than in any allegorical mode.

In a book of this nature, which records the personal impression made by a careful and sensitive study of the Gospels, it is just as well that literary criticism should not be allowed to usurp too prominent a place. But room might have been found for some indication that, where St. John differs from the detail of the Synoptic record, this is to be explained, anyhow in part, as devotional commentary on earlier material which allows and may even demand certain transpositions of order. Lord Longford's suggestion may thus be avoided, that the solemn, prophetic action of Cleansing the Temple was carried out twice, while the account of the Last Supper is omitted not because John 'took it for granted' but because his Eucharistic teaching had been included in the discourse attached to the Feeding of the Five Thousand by the Sea of Tiberias. But, if critical argument about the sources is to be curtailed, so too might be omitted apocryphal fantasies breathing 'the last enchantment of the Middle Age', such as Fr. Bruckberger's view that Mary Magdalene 'had a dancing-master who came from Ephesus and read aloud to her from the *Symposium* Diotima's speech on Free Love'.

The philosopher Origen used to say that simple people must be content with the simple facts as stated in the Gospel, while persons more advanced in religious matters are to enjoy the 'comeliness of spiritual understanding'. Lord Longford, while ministering to the former class, helps them, by clear presentation and a variety of stimulating ideas, to go forward a stage or two along the higher path.

R. L. P. MILBURN

LIVES OF THE PRIME MINISTERS

The Prime Ministers. Volume I: From Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel. Edited by Herbert Van Thal with an Introduction by G. W. Jones. Allen & Unwin. £6.95.

This is the first of a two-volume compilation of biographical essays on British Prime Ministers from Walpole to the present day. The first volume is a mixed collection of essays which range from the 'quite good' to the decidedly second-rate. The collection includes well-known experts such as Professor Norman Gash, rising younger scholars such as Paul Langford and popular writers such as the Countess of Longford and (for reasons best known to the editor) the ex-actress, Miss Joyce Marlow, who originally began her writing career with a children's adventure story. Somewhat perversely, Norman Gash, the acknowledged expert on Sir Robert Peel, contributed an essay, not on Peel, but on Lord Liverpool, whilst the Countess of Longford, the most recent writer on the Duke of Wellington, wrote, not about Wellington, but about George Canning. The essay on Spencer Perceval was by Miss Marlow whilst the definitive biography is by Denis Gray.

The quality of the essays varies as considerably as the qualifications of the contributors. The Introduction, on the office of the Prime Minister, is undistinguished and calls for no comment. Roughly speaking, the essays for the eighteenth century Prime Ministers are better than those for the nineteenth century. The reason for this may well be that eighteenth century studies have less attraction for the popular writer and remain more the preserve of the qualified academic. It is impossible to deal with all the twenty-four essays in this first volume, but one can mention four. John Cannon's essay on Lord North puts forward a defence of this oft-maligned First Lord. One might argue with his view that Lord North's personal devotion to his Sovereign 'made some sense' in the eighteenth century, whilst in the 'context' of modern constitutional theory' it was 'scarcely defensible'. 'Modern constitutional theory' did not apply to Lord North and is therefore irrelevant, whilst personal loyalty to one's Sovereign has been a guiding principle of government in this country far longer than has been the dictates of the electorate, the party or the popular press. It is arguable whether it was such a bad principle.

Another much maligned Prime Minister is Lord Liverpool, who was First Lord from 1812 to 1827. Professor Gash, like Mr. Cannon, attempts a defence and shows that far from being a 'figurehead', Liverpool was an active leader who was able to influence the nature of the administration he headed. The Countess of Longford's essay on George Canning resembles Miss Marlow's study of Spencer Perceval by being of a somewhat lighter character. Her identification with Canning as an 'enlightened' Tory is touching, but it leads her to somewhat violent references to those who thought differently from her hero as 'cronies', 'other reactionary groups' and 'bigoted'. It is, once again, surprising that Wendy Hinde, who has written the latest biography of Canning (published last year), was not asked to write the essay.

The final contribution to be considered is that by Professor Asa Briggs on

Sir Robert Peel. Professor Briggs' numerous publications have made him known to the public, but not as an expert on Peel. The essay fails to make use of much available material and consequently provides a traditional view which is being undermined by current research. His analysis of Peel's decision to repeal the Corn Laws—a decision which split his party for years to come—is superficial. Further, Peel was not praised, as Professor Briggs asserts, in all the provincial newspapers and the *Norfolk Chronicle* along with the *Northamptonshire Herald* and many other county newspapers denounced his 'betrayal'. The journalist to whom Professor Briggs refers was *James* Grant, not John; and finally, as son of the Duke of Portland, George Bentinck was styled by courtesy 'Lord', not 'Sir'.

The drawbacks of the book are three-fold: the essays are all far too short and could well be an average of forty pages, not eleven or twelve. Second, the odd mixture of skilled academics writing on men well known to them, of equally qualified scholars writing on men less well known to them, and of popularisers leads to an uneven quality. This, in addition to the shortness of length, means that there is little chance of new work being presented or accepted interpretations being fully re-assessed. Finally since each essay is a self-contained contribution, there is some repetition and each is, partly due to shortness, written more or less *in vacuo*. Little background information is or can be given and notable works which would greatly enhance the presentation, such as Betty Kemp's *King and Commons*, are not mentioned either in the Introduction or in the essays.

The advantages of the book are that one is given a convenient introduction to the subject along with aids for further reading. If the essays are too short to allow for detailed study or new treatment to any real degree, they nevertheless provide a modicum of information in a convenient format. Also, lesser known men like Newcastle, Grenville, Rockingham or Pelham are given a more or less proper perspective in the evolving history of the Prime Ministership. The chief value of the book, for both students and the general reader, is that it points to the central and fundamental principle behind political development in this country. Offices, like powers, have evolved over the years and this evolution has been most directly affected by the personalities of those who held the offices. It is pointless to write about the 'office of the Prime Minister' for it can only be understood by constant reference to those who fill the position. Constitutional theory, from the over-rated Bagehot to recent writers, is at best a reflection of contemporary opinion for, in short, it is the man who makes the office, not *vice versa*. By compiling studies of the men who have made the office of Prime Minister what it is, the book provides us with a convenient reference which must, however, be taken with some caution in certain cases.

J. E. B. MUNSON

ALIENATION AND LITERATURE

Genius: An Ideology in Literature. Robert Currie. Chatto & Windus. £3.25.

Alienation—the social scientists' state of *anomie*, in which Fromm's lost, alienated cybernetic man has nowhere to slot in—is widely discussed today. Robert Currie chooses to examine the historical progression of the idea, and modes of release therefrom, with special reference to the work of five interconnecting authors—Hoffman, Kierkegaard, Wyndham Lewis, Kafka and Beckett. These are formidable thinkers, indeed, and much of the detail of this thesis is somewhat esoteric. Even if Hoffman ranks second only to Goethe in German prose of the romantic period, and his thinking profoundly influenced

Kierkegaard, Marx, Dostoevsky and Wyndham Lewis, nonetheless it is difficult to participate with enthusiasm in analysis of the plots of this remote writer whose work is not fully available in English.

Alienation is defined as the concept that the self is divided from the self and that the self is divided from the world. Concomitantly, intellectuals opposed to the growth of urban society away from 'classical' or 'natural' man, hostile to the development of democracy and to the expansion of mass power, have elaborated an 'ideology of genius', conceiving that humanity needs genius to rescue it from alienation. In this way, the 'one' has been valued above the 'many'. Those who have rejected (or even imitated) genius have been called 'philistines' in Mathew Arnold's sense. As romantic optimism merges into modernist pessimism, the idea of genius as hero gives way to the idea of genius as martyr and victim.

Now Robert Currie, who teaches politics at Wadham College, Oxford, cannot accept that we need to seek a better condition of transcendence, nor that the one is more valuable than the many. He feels that the concept of alienation has even been used to condemn achievement. Nor does he consider that we should sink deeply into modernist pessimism. Rather, a social culture should create those intellectual, emotional and spiritual conditions in which the *individuals* in the mass (i.e. the derided many) may resolve their own problems themselves. This does not mean that he advocates any modern form of *nosce teipsum:* he is plainly temperamentally opposed to the psycho-analytical view and, indeed, comments dourly enough on Freud's achievements. He favours a form of *acceptance* of the human condition in which the task of culture is to cope with alienation as it reveals itself in democracy. There is no salvation through the one, but through a 'this worldly culture which neither condemns the world as absolute evil nor relies upon the promise of another and better world.'

MOLLY TIBBS

PRECOGNITION

Riddle of the Future. Andrew MacKenzie. Arthur Barker. £2.65.

The precognitive puzzle is an ancient mystery: a defiance of Time which the passage of time has not resolved. Our sophisticated scientific technocracy remains as fundamentally baffled by this paranormal phenomenon as were the observers and recorders of earlier ages. Evidence of spontaneous precognition has accrued through the centuries, but no satisfactory explicatory structuring has as yet been achieved. Laboratory experiment has evidenced the apparent reality of the precognitive faculty, but the consequent interference with established ideas of causation and time constitutes a serious barrier to rational acceptance. The paradoxical shadow that the future casts before it is the substance of Mr. Andrew MacKenzie's wholly excellent book. The author is essentially empirical. He presents specific case histories. He does not proselytise, but he does marshal the multiplicity of theoretical constructs which have been evoked to give some sort of reasonable shape to the workings of precognitive ability. This is, then, a serious book, deserving of serious attention, the more so because the author is not one of those who seek to shelter behind a thicket of obscurantist verbiage. He writes clearly and succinctly, without laying intellectual ambuscades of camouflaging jargon. Inevitably, the questions posed by the reality of precognition involve us in conflict with fundamental concepts of the nature of time and Newtonian physics. The answers hazarded have included juggling with the notion of time (Dunne), postulating unconscious interference from supernormally acquired knowledge of the present (Broad, Dobbs, Stevenson), reversing the ostensible causal relationship and treating the

precognitive experience as, in some normal or supernormal (psychokinetic) manner, the cause of the subsequent event (Tanagras, Roll).

Mr. MacKenzie himself believes that we must abandon the concept of one-dimensional or linear time. He inclines to the view expressed by Dobbs in his theory of two-dimensional time, and feels that in quantum physics we have at least the framework for ultimate understanding. We need to re-examine the classical physical idea of the universe in exclusively mechanical terms—that is, absolute space as a pre-existent void filled only in one-dimensional time by events causally determined by preceding events in accordance with the strictest laws of mechanics. The basic limiting principles of science should be regarded not as dictating what is impossible, but merely as defining what is highly improbable. As Dr. Thouless writes in his preface: 'People may also be wrong in too easily accepting conceivability as a criterion . . . that we find something inconceivable may only indicate an unfortunate limitation in our powers of conceiving.'

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

FIFTY YEARS OF STAGE AND SCREEN

Rex: An Autobiography. Rex Harrison. Macmillan. £3.50.

Mr. Rex Harrison has had an enviable career starring in big hits like *Anna and the King of Siam, Cleopatra, My Fair Lady,* commuting between London, New York, Hollywood and his Portofino hill-villa where he entertained fellow celebrities. He was evidently blessed by having an athletic, engineering father who did very little work, for he thinks 'my father's lack of ambition had something to do with my own urge to succeed'. It took him first into Flute and Thisbe roles in *Midsummer Night's Dream* at his local Liverpool Playhouse, then to London with Marie Tempest in Robert Morley's *Short Story*; and he noticed that whenever she made an exit from a scene this astute Dame began clapping herself loudly to delude the audience into clapping, too. She also ensured more curtain calls at the end by getting her maid, in the wings, to catapault her pet Sealyham on to the stage, as if it had come on uninvited, then hugging and fondling it.

Anecdotes of the kind lighten minor chat about parts played, casts, productions *seriatim*, of which there is inevitably a surfeit. But the behind-the-scenes talk about the big shows and Hollywood personalities is always revealing. He found, for example, that as Caesar he had to wait long hours for Elizabeth Taylor's appearance on the *Cleopatra* set; but once she arrived to do a scene she knew exactly what she wanted to do with it and was word-perfect, with a photographic memory for lines. There was a farcical legal tussle when a huge billboard appeared on Broadway showing Liz and Richard Burton's Antony together but no Caesar. To fulfil a 'likeness' clause in Rex's contract, men had to climb a scaffolding and stick a minute picture of Caesar in one corner 'so that it looked like a postcard with a stamp in the corner' and caused a furore. Finally Caesar was given his due, appearing with Antony sitting either side of Cleopatra.

Rex is frank and cagey by turns about his love affairs—never, thank heaven, four-letter frank like David Niven in *The Moon's A Balloon*. It is less a case of kiss and tell than of kiss and marry—no less than five times, in fact, thrice with actresses: Lilli Palmer, Kay Kendall, Rachel Roberts. In between came a rapturous but tragic involvement with Carole Landis, whom he eventually found dead from an overdose of drugs after he had told her he was quitting Hollywood to play Henry VIII in Maxwell Anderson's *Anne of the Thousand*

Days in New York. Four marriages foundered in the cross-currents of separate professional engagements and his susceptibility to new, exciting beauty. Happy at last in his fifth, to Elizabeth, Lord Ogmore's daughter, he can say: 'I always believed that actors should be married to actresses. Absolute rubbish—actors should be married to wives'. Fortunately, with three sons by a previous marriage, she is content to be—a wife.

'I've always tried', he writes, 'to be the sort of actor who works from the inside outwards to develop a character', and that is evidently his aim in portraying himself and fellow celebrities in an autobiography that discloses much of the inside of fifty years' stage and screen life, with attractive photographs.

TREVOR ALLEN

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Peace Is Not At Hand (Chatto and Windus. £4.00). In October 1972, when North Vietnam made an apparent though insincere acceptance of peace terms, Dr. Henry Kissinger declared: 'peace is at hand'. Now in this important sequel to *No Exit in Vietnam* Sir Robert Thompson argues precisely the opposite in the train of events. Few people are better fitted to assess the course of the Vietnam conflict and its relation to world communist strategy than Sir Robert who played an important part in defeating the communist guerrillas in Malaysia, headed the British Advisory Mission in South Vietnam from 1961-1965 and has been a frequent consultant on Vietnam to the White House and the United States National Security Council. He also knows Vietnam very well from visits. In this new volume he uses his vast knowledge and experience more particularly to discuss the later stages of the war, the determination of the South to retain its freedom, the failure of the North's guerrilla warfare and the defeat of their invasion of the South in 1972 at a time when only a remnant of American ground troops remained. 'The South Vietnamese people have fought on a scale and at a cost which far outweighs any contribution made by the United States and their resilience and stamina have been incomparable.' As Sir Robert stresses, the cease fire in January 1973 was forced on Hanoi by their defeat; but they refuse to be bound by its terms and regard it as a chance to recover their strength and resume their objective, by every possible means, of imposing communist dictatorship upon the South. Sir Robert does not expect another full scale invasion of the South during the next year or two. Meanwhile the United States is turning a blind eye to Hanoi's blatant breaches of the cease fire and are not supplying the South with all the replacement arms to which they are entitled. At the moment at least America wants to forget all about the Vietnam conflict, with the ultimate strategic surrender. It is a sombre and depressing picture which Sir Robert draws. It is a mood which the West will have to throw off if it wishes to survive in freedom in the long run. The book is a timely warning and needs to be widely read and understood.

Britain's Developing Constitution (George Allen & Unwin. £4.50). In the series *Studies in Political Science*, Professor Peter Bromhead has written a useful concise and lucid account of the British system of government as it operates in the seventies. It is descriptive of the organs of government and how they function in the light of development and contemporary practice. His conclusions are naturally of value and interest. Discussing the appointment of a Prime

Minister where there is no single party majority in the House of Commons, 'the essential rule' is that the Queen must consult persons in a position to give sound objective advice as to which candidate is likely to obtain a majority. 'What is not clear is exactly whom the Queen should consult.' She will certainly need to know which major party the minor groups will support. In February, of course, the problem did not arise, since Mr. Heath's resignation made Mr. Wilson's appointment inevitable. Professor Bromhead would appear to take the view that once the Prime Minister is appointed he is entitled to a dissolution upon request and a new general election. ' . . . a Prime Minister may ask for, and expect to be granted, a dissolution at any time that he judges to be advantageous to him and his party.' He does not accept that there is a growth towards prime ministerial government. 'There is little evidence of any discernible trend towards concentration of power on the Prime Minister over the last few decades; Neville Chamberlain gave more evidence of this than any of his peacetime successors.' He accepts, however, that particularly during elections, attention is focussed on the party leaders. This is a comprehensive study, covering a very wide field within 230 pages.

Thomas Hardy and the Modern World (The Thomas Hardy Society Ltd. £2.50). This valuable symposium of papers on Thomas Hardy, edited by F. B. Pinion, has been contributed by such well-known Hardy scholars as Lord David Cecil, Robert Gittings and Desmond Hawkins. Copies of this and other publications may be obtained from the Secretary of the Thomas Hardy Society, The Vicarage, Haselbury Plucknett, Crewkerne, Somerset, TA18 7PB. The President of the Society is the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan.

Cornish Harvest (William Kimber, £2.75). Following *Haunted Cornwall*, Denys Val Baker has had no difficulty in finding fresh Cornish material to make up this very atmospheric and colourful collection of short stories. Some, but not all, are supernatural stories again. A. L. Rowse contributes a real frightener — *The Stone That Liked Company* — is this case one of the standing stones which, with the granite cliffs, sea sparkling far below like diamonds, and steep, clustered fishing villages form the background throughout the book. D. H. Lawrence, who lived for a time at Zennor, chooses a flowery cliff-top setting for *The Shadow in the Rose Garden*. Hammond Innes in *Pisky Lad* explores the labyrinthine tin mines in an adventure as exciting as Irish Murdoch's ordeal in her novel, *The Nice and the Good*. Rosalind Wade in a compassionate story of character, pauses to see 'on the horizon one of those rare rainbow effects in which the colours of the spectrum seem to gather themselves into a small perpendicular band'. Phyllis Bottome shows how a certain kind of inward-turning Cornish personality can be as harsh and pitiless as the ironstone cliffs.

Bermuda's Crime and Punishment 17th Century Style (Island Press Ltd., Bermuda, $2). In this attractively produced booklet Terry Tucker, the novelist and historian, has amplified a series of articles recently published in *Contemporary Review*. The linking narrative provides useful and amusing comments on historical research in general, while the crimes themselves in their infinite variety are conveniently listed in alphabetical order. Altogether, despite its unavoidable brevity, the commentary provides a valuable insight into the Island's past at a crucial period in its development. The author's own pen illustrations make an effective cover.

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THE CAPE ROUTE AND SIMONSTOWN

by Simon Wingfield Digby

DURING the Second World War a chain of naval bases served the Commonwealth, but few remain today under United Kingdom control. Gibraltar is an exception. Even the Royal Dockyards at home have a reduced capacity.

The rapid growth of nationalism is one reason for the reduction in our bases, economy a second and an alteration in Britain's vital sea routes a third, especially since Indian independence. Economy led to the closing of Hongkong dockyard, because it was too small and cramped to be economical to run. Trincomalee was no longer acceptable to a more nationalistic government in Ceylon and Malta,—well, Malta is a story in itself!

So it was that it became inevitable that the Government of South Africa should expect to take over the base at Simonstown and other naval establishments, including an armaments supply depot. Considerations of economy dictated the same course, as it became necessary for a Britain, increasingly a European island instead of the centre of a world-wide commonwealth, to restrict her overseas expenditure. The Commander-in-Chief South Atlantic, whose fleet had become embarrassingly small, with a costly headquarters at Cape Town, could no longer be justified in our Navy Votes.

It must be clearly remembered that the decision to hand over Simonstown was taken, not because it had become less important to the shipping of the Commonwealth, but because someone else was willing to pay and to allow the Royal Navy to go on using the staging and repair facilities as well. The decision was taken before the Suez intervention, but in any case it would have been impossible to foresee future closing of the Canal, thus enhancing enormously the importance of the Cape route. In fact, the volume of shipping of all kinds passing near the Cape was about to increase and for many years to come. Had all this been anticipated at the time perhaps the original arrangement might have been different.

Now, seventeen years later, when the Canal is being finally reopened, conditions have changed. Giant tankers up to 500,000 tons have been successfully built and operated, making their predecessors and even battleships look small, hardly suitable for a canal. Other merchant ships have

become accustomed to steaming the extra mileage round the Cape and indeed some have been specially designed for the longer distance. Even the new container ships are of the size and speed of battle-cruisers.

In Africa today it is difficult to retain any sense of perspective or of history. Politically, events have moved fast yet the basic limitations of the continent remain and are often misunderstood. When it comes to South Africa the atmosphere is charged with emotion, owing to the policies of the South African Government. But let us try to look as objectively as we can upon the local scene, however much we dislike the concept of apartheid.

Gazing out from Rhodes's cottage at Muizenberg across False Bay, with its stories of stranded ships, the Simonstown naval base looks insignificant against rocky mountains and the Cape itself is barely discernible in the distance. How easy it is to underestimate the naval importance of this basin and the second one which is being constructed. The capacity of this dry dock may not be impressive but there is another round the corner in Cape Town. But to a damaged ship in war, limping along after hundreds of miles, how welcome. For the distance to the nearest comparable naval bases is immense—Gibraltar, Bombay, Singapore, Australia. It is the geographical position of Simonstown which is its importance in the wide oceans of the world and this has nothing to do with the politics of those who are controlling it at the present time.

It surprises me to read how many politicians and writers do not understand the difference between the facilities of a naval base and any other little harbour, adequate for the Skylark of their holiday experience, no doubt, but about as relevant to a modern warship as a tin-opener to a power station. Modern warships are highly sophisticated and technical and so is their equipment. Even a good graving dock, rare though it is in many parts of the world, is not enough. A fleet, to say nothing of cargo vessels and giant tankers, needs support in time of war. I know it is argued by left wing politicians that we can be as nasty as we like to South Africa in peacetime, refuse to use their facilities and then turn up in time of war with everything in apple pie order because, after all, the South Africans are sure to be on the 'right' side anyway.

Strategic considerations have now become muddled in many European minds with emotional feeling about apartheid. When the decision was taken by the then Conservative Government to hand over the base and other property at a ceremony in the spring of 1957, these feelings were not overlooked. The British Admiralty and its Civil Lord took pride in the conditions of its overseas civilian workers and it was not easy to contemplate handing them over to any country which might treat them worse. With my personal ministerial responsibility for these workers, like those in so many overseas bases—Malta, Gibraltar, Singapore, Hongkong, Trincomalee—I felt the problem personally. Although not unfriendly to South Africa,—I always remember an impressive interview with General Smuts just before his Government fell—I have always strongly disapproved of apartheid. The arrangements for transfer provided that there should be no discrimination based on colour and for security of jobs. I well remember many hours

poring over the detailed handover conditions, in the hope that the Navy's loyal Cape Coloured workers would have the best possible deal in the circumstances. I think we did a good job and I have never been able to obtain evidence that the South African Government did not keep its side of the bargain. But the policy of the Labour Government seems to be to release them from any further obligations by a unilateral denunciation of the agreement. Labour's sympathy for the underdog certainly moves in mysterious ways!

I myself had been designated as the Minister to perform the handover, had not Lord Avon's Government fallen. I was never sorry to have been spared this task—I do not relish handing assets over, human or otherwise. But this did impel me to make three later visits to the Cape and to Simonstown. I was most grateful for the courtesy with which the South African Naval authorities received me and especially Admiral Bierman.

In the House of Commons, the other day, the Foreign Secretary Mr. Callaghan made much play of the way in which things have changed since the original agreement, for there have been some minor changes since then. So they have. Apartheid is now an established fact, with all its illogicalities and even M.P.s of the other main party (United Party) admit that it would take some years to reverse it completely. The representation of the Cape Coloureds seems unlikely to be restored as long as the Nationalists are in power.

On the strategic front the Suez Canal will never regain its former importance, even if it is deepened: for the volume of shipping rounding the Cape has increased out of all proportion and some of the ships are now Soviet Naval units. In fact, on the strategic side it is hard to escape the conclusion that the importance of the route is greatly enhanced. It is true that the giant tankers have no need to stop and refuel, but they stick close to the shore to take advantage of the Agulhas Current and in any case wish to avoid the cold waters to the south. Thus there is a parallel with the northern hemisphere, where the great importance of the North Cape lies in the fact that shipping must pass near it to avoid the frozen waters to the north. On the political side it is quite clear that it is more desirable than ever not to give unnecessary offence to the black states of Africa and that they feel strongly about South Africa. But how far can we afford to ignore Britain's vital lifelines? Happily there are increasing signs, in 1975, of more mutual understanding in Southern Africa.

In his article in the *Round Table* in 1971, Mr. Geoffrey Ripon did well to bring out the importance of South African airfields for air reconnaissance and air cover for shipping, especially after the phasing out of the last of our aircraft carriers. Without aircraft our shipping would be blind.

But is this potential threat to our shipping lanes and those of other NATO countries real? Are the numerous Soviet warships and submarines and their hydrography just an innocent attempt to 'show the flag' and influence smaller countries, no more? Is it fear of China which brings the Soviet Fleet into the Indian Ocean? However that may be, it certainly leaves

a lot of new options open to Russia, fresh opportunities to fish in troubled waters, so to speak.

In 1955, when the agreement was being negotiated, there were few enough Soviet warships in the Mediterranean and now there is a considerable fleet all the time. At the very time when the Royal Navy is phasing out her last aircraft carrier, Russia is building two in the Black Sea. What for? Not to cruise round the Black Sea, you can be sure. This must signal an intended breach of the Montreux Convention, which severely limits the size of warships which may pass through the Straits, past Istanbul. With the reopening of the Suez Canal, these powerful vessels may soon be displaying themselves in the Indian Ocean. With the advent of the nuclear stalemate an all-out conflict between east and west has become, mercifully, unlikely. This does not apply to limited conflicts, minor wars and certainly not to threats and naval blockades, open or surreptitious. World trade flows by sea to an ever-increasing extent and our very lives depend upon it. Never before in time of peace has a submarine fleet been as large, as swift and as menacing as that of the Soviets. Although the Cape is outside the limits of the NATO Command all those nations are as threatened as ourselves. But Britain has a special and historic position at the Cape and a special responsibility to the free world and we should not flinch from accepting it.

[Simon Wingfield Digby, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1951-57, was, until February 1974, Chairman of the Conservative Shipping and Shipbuilding Committee and a member of the Defence Committee, Western European Union.]

EUROPE'S LEAST FAVOURED NATIONS

by Gene Gregory

EUROPE, after sixteen years of wandering in the wilderness, seems finally to be laying the foundations of an Asian policy. To be sure, the beginnings have been something less than spectacular. Sir Christopher Soames, with appropriate modesty, referred to the signing of the commercial cooperation agreement with India—the Community's first trade agreement with an Asian country—as a ground-breaking exercise.

It was hardly surprising that Sir Christopher's further suggestion that the EEC-Indian accord could set important patterns for the future and for other countries evoked little enthusiasm elsewhere in Asia. For, whatever satisfaction might be derived from this one encouraging sign that the Community's enlargement might have cured its long-standing Euroafrican astigmatism, it was clear that the agreement with India had achieved little more than to create one more joint commission with wide-ranging terms of reference. The lowest common denominator that shapes Community policies and action had reaffirmed itself: if nothing at all substantial can be done to resolve problems or grasp opportunities, it is always possible to build new governmental structures.

Indeed nothing very vital had changed. However the agreement is read, India remains among the Community's least favoured nations, along with the rest of Asia. At least, it was a symbolic gesture recognising the need for a Common Market policy for Asia. At the very most, it has established an institutional framework that will facilitate communications, continuing negotiations and cooperation between India and the Community which will contribute positively to the development and diversification of trade. At worst, it will further fossilise those administrative structures which may do more to hinder than promote the development of an international division of labour through effective trade liberalisation.

Since its formation, the EEC's relations with Asia have been distant. Although most Asian countries have maintained a diplomatic mission to the Community for years, and ASEAN has established a special Brussels Committee in a bid to improve its members' bargaining power, the EEC has concentrated its attentions on association with Mediterranean countries and African ex-colonies of France and Belgium.

Asia, at best, seemed an afterthought. And, as the treatment reserved for the Commonwealth 'non-associables' as well as Japan suggest, it was usually an annoying afterthought at that.

If the Community of Nine was indeed prodigal in its assurances of 'intentions' to make certain that 'non-associable' Asian Commonwealth member states did not suffer from Britain's entry into Europe, it was clear from the outset that this Joint Declaration of Intention was not part of a clearly planned programme of diplomatic activity to extend and strengthen trade relations with the Asian region as a whole. Very early in the long process of entry negotiations, Whitehall left no doubts among Asian Common-

wealth members that there was no possibility of resolving this problem, at least until after Britain was inside the Community.

Prior to Britain's entry, the Community's horizons were proscribed mainly by an association policy which has evolved as a result of the split between EFTA and the Community in 1958 and the accommodation of French and Belgian demands for priority treatment of former African colonies. The emergent hierarchy of discriminatory arrangements gave first preference to achieving free trade in manufactured products with the 'rump' of EFTA by 1977, and the Yaoundé associates in Africa and the Mediterranean countries were made eligible for various types of special trading relationships.

Then, other developing countries, including the Commonwealth members, were granted limited duty-free access for manufactured goods under the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) which also extended small, virtually insignificant tariff cuts for a few processed agricultural goods. Finally, exports from developed countries, including Japan, were subject to the 'most favoured nation' rates of the Common External Tariff, but negotiations of a trade agreement with Japan had broken down over Europe's insistence on inclusion of a safeguard clause which would be unilaterally invoked if European industries were threatened with 'disruption' by Japanese imports.

The passage of time since Britain's painful entry into the Community now allows its real effects on this scheme of things to be assessed with some precision. During the past year, in addition to achieving general agreement to extension of associated status to Commonwealth African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, Sir Christopher Soames has led the British effort to lay the foundations for a Community policy towards Asia.

But Europe establishes new relations slowly. First, in this case, because member states of the Community are very far from agreement on some of the main issues of Asian relations, including those with both Japan and the developing countries. Although more tacit agreement is found on the development of relations with China, even here caution and a passive posture have characterised EEC actions in the absence of a well-defined Asian policy. And to accommodate the various viewpoints on Asian policy, whether in the Commission or in the chancelleries of member states, Sir Christopher and his cohorts have prudently limited themselves to policies to which the Nine are already explicitly committed.

This means, above all, the association policy giving broad privileges of access to the European market to associated states, which excludes all Asian countries. For them, as for all non-associable states of the Third World, there is the GSP scheme, which is carefully designed to make certain that rapid expansion of manufactured imports from developing countries is discouraged. Rather, the scheme serves to control their import through a mind-boggling system of quotas, ceilings and cut-off points that defies the comprehension of both exporting and importing firms alike.

Apart from these two key elements in the Community's relations with the Third World, the incipient Asian policy begins from the Community's

commitments to encourage regional groupings and to respect the Joint Declaration of Intention made at the time of British accession, that the Asian Commonwealth members should not suffer from the loss of special privileges in the UK market. But, as the commercial cooperation agreement with India clearly witnesses, no general arrangements are contemplated to extend former Commonwealth privileges to the Community of Nine; on the contrary, case-by-case, product-by-product, the EEC will examine the extent of 'suffering' imposed on an Asian Commonwealth member and then negotiate the relief to be accorded.

In sum, the way the Community's external economic relations are constructed, Asian countries, both developing and advanced, must continue for some time to compete in the world's largest single market at a disadvantage.

Products of developing Asian countries, as a general rule, will be less favoured than similar products of 45 ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries which enter under preferential arrangements reserved to associated states. It follows, in turn, that manufacturing firms from advanced countries shifting labour-intensive production to developing countries with the most advantageous access to European markets are likely to give preference to ACP countries rather than Asian countries, all other things being equal.

Take, for example, the electronics industry. Rules of origin are so constructed that those developing Asian countries which do not produce a relatively wide variety of electronic components or processed materials used in the manufacture of components, can benefit hardly at all from GSP treatment for electronic products manufactured within their respective territories. Not only is it necessary, under EEC regulations, that 50 per cent of all components used in a completed product be of local origin, but all semi-conductors used in the product must be locally manufactured — a qualification few developing countries can meet. Quite obviously, a country that has sufficient capabilities to manufacture advanced-technology products such as integrated circuits, or even transistors and diodes, has advanced far along the path towards industrialisation.

But the problem doesn't end there. Granted, the electronics industry in some developing Asian countries has tended to develop in advance of the general level of industrialisation and, as in the case of Singapore, semiconductors produced locally can meet rigid EEC rules of origin. However, since some of these products are considered 'disruptive' for European industry, they are subject to strict quotas.

In other cases, any developing Asian country which in two successive years exceeds the ceiling, or cut-off point, fixed for a particular product of that country, finds its exports of that product automatically subject to quota. This has happened to Hong Kong for no less than 18 product categories.

Since ACP countries are not subject to GSP regulations, but have truly generalised duty-free and quota-free import privileges, products from Asian

countries cannot compete on the same footing with similar products of associated African, Caribbean or Pacific countries.

How this disadvantage affects the competitive power of Asian products on the European market, depends, of course, on the production factor mix that determines the dynamic comparative advantage of each product. But the very fact of discrimination suggests that it is of considerable importance for a wide variety of 'sensitive' and 'non-sensitive' products. And, indeed, it is doubtless one of the major reasons—along with the labyrinthine complexities of the scheme—why Asian exports under the preference scheme have been negligible.

Japan's inclusion among Europe's least-favoured nations may be for similar reasons—that European industry must be protected from more competitive Asian manufactured products—but the mechanism of discrimination is at once more selective and abusive of national sensitivities. The Common Market has officially put Japan on notice that in the absence of an overall EEC-Japan trade agreement it will take such measures as it considers appropriate to protect EEC industries that suffer because of competition from lower-priced Japanese exports. Negotiations on a global trade pact broke down three years ago over the Community's insistence on a safeguard clause, and EEC officials now acknowledge that there are no prospects for talks being resumed in the near or foreseeable future.

Despite continuing West German protests, as an alternative to imposition of quotas on Japanese imports, the EEC nine—as France and Italy have done unilaterally over the years—has accepted the possibility of 'voluntary' agreements by Japan to control exports of specific products to the Community. As a result, by 1974 the Japanese had subjected 55 'sensitive' products to export restrictions for the entire EEC, or for various member countries.

While many thoughtful EEC Commission officials have long realised that Japan cannot be singled out for discrimination by a major economic power such as the European Community, the Community continues to conduct its relations with Japan in a hesitant defensive Maginot-like action to protect inefficient European firms, belying the Community's proclaimed commitment to trade liberalisation. Only in 1974 did the Community give signs of taking the initiative in reaching an understanding with Japan by the establishment of delegation offices in Tokyo.

Likewise, the Commission would like to abolish some of the most illiberal features of the Community's GSP scheme by transferring products on the sensitive list to the semi-sensitive list, and by broadening the rules of origin for ASEAN countries to apply cumulatively to the entire region.

While these changes do not alter the general scheme of Community relations which relegates Asian countries to least favoured nations, as recent statistics of EEC trade with India show, they can be expected to lead to eventual piecemeal improvements. During the first six months following the signature of the CCA with India in December 1973, Indian exports to the Community of Nine rose by over 40 per cent. To be sure, this was not as large a gain as that of Taiwan, which did not benefit even

from the Community's GSP provisions, and meant only that Indian exports to the EEC were raised only to the level of Morocco's, whose population is hardly 3 per cent of India's.

What is desperately needed in Brussels is a massive overhaul of the Community's industrial, trade and cooperation policies. The notorious discrimination against Asian countries is only symptomatic of the profound ambiguity of the term 'Community', and of the Community's mandate, which runs through the entire debate of its role in economic affairs and the part Europe is to play in the international system.

Whereas the Nine have agreed to entrust to the Community the task of conducting some aspects of their internal economic affairs and external economic relations, it remains true that the Commission proposes and that the Council of Ministers disposes. And since the Council is bound by the rule of unanimity, its decisions are frequently made by a majority of one—the one member country that would withhold its affirmative vote until its conditions are met.

The unanimity principle, which underlies the continuing privileges reserved for the ACP countries, has of course proved impossible as a method of dealing with any of the main problems of the Community on which there are differences between its various members. This situation points firmly to the need for more effective decision-making processes which will at once be representative and capable of dealing with problems on a higher plane than the present lowest common denominator. Most certainly if the 1972 Paris summit commitment to transform the whole complex of member states' relations into a 'European Union' by 1980 means anything at all, it must mean not only the breaking down of artificial lines of demarcation between 'economics' and 'politics', but also the revision of Community structures that will enable expeditious action to be taken on major matters of common EEC concern.

Then, upon some semblance of consensus, the Community can proceed to reorder its external relations on rational and equitable global considerations, replacing the Romanesque notion of a world divided among associated and non-associable states by one more in tune with the current realities of international comity.

But what is much more important is that the Community should take this opportunity of building new relationships with developed and developing countries alike to promote an international division of labour in which European industries will be viable, competitive participants.

This would entail the adoption of a dynamic industrial policy dedicated to continual upgrading of the comparative advantage of European production through systematic 'scrap and build' programmes that would economically deploy resources in high-productivity, advanced-technology industries. Such a policy would necessarily promote the transfer of labour-intensive industries to developing countries where the production factor mix would be most advantageous not only for supplying the European market competitively, but for competitive power on world markets generally. Strict adherence to these criteria would at once best serve the long-term interests

of European enterprises and European consumers, as well as ensuring the equitable treatment of all developing countries. At the same time, such a policy would enable Europe to adjust to the implications of Japan's and China's upward movement on the economic power scale, utilising the momentum of their particular specialisation to ensure the competitive power of European industries.

Quite apart from the proposals of Dr. Kissinger for a new 'Atlantic' charter including Japan, it is most urgent that Europe acknowledge the equality of Japan. Whether or not this is achieved within the framework of some trilateral scheme is not the central issue; more important, Japan must neither be given to think that the advanced industrial world is so constituted as to preclude equal opportunity to all its advantages, nor that she is merely dragged in as an afterthought to some scheme the Atlantic powers have elaborated among themselves and do not want disturbed by unruly outsiders.

Logically extended, this scheme of things would also lead to more wholesome trade relationships with developing countries in all parts of the world. As Peter Tulloch of the London-based Overseas Development Institute has proposed as a basis for reordering India-EEC relations, 'concessions' should be negotiated between developing and developed countries as a common enterprise to liberalise trade and promote investments.

It has become the generally accepted practice, of course, that trade negotiations between advanced and developing countries are dealt with in ways more appropriate to inter-governmental aid programmes, with all the implications of dependency and subservience that this implies. Moreover, they are based upon an inherent pessimism about exports on both sides, implicitly accepting the necessity of both countries protecting their home industries.

Rather than encourage and facilitate the transfer of labour-intensive export industries to developing countries, unilateral trade concessions by advanced countries tend to be accompanied by import substitution investments. While even unilateral trade liberalisation usually yields some net gain for both exporting and importing countries, it is notoriously hard to sell to the donor's public, which in turn is likely to consider the transfer of labour-intensive industries abroad as exporting jobs and therefore not in the national interests.

As demonstrated by the Community's GSP scheme, one-way trade concessions not only tend to yield relatively little, they are also likely to be discriminatory and subject to being revoked unilaterally under pressure from industrial and labour lobbies on very slight provocation. Since unilateral concessions are looked upon not as trade liberalisation but as giving something away, they inevitably tend to focus attention in advanced countries on the alleged damage to particular industries by competition from 'cheap' imports from developing countries rather than to emphasise the vitally important net benefits which both sides gain from an expansion of trade.

As experience with the Community's GSP has shown, the effect is both

to render the system so complicated that it defies the necessary understanding for its full benefits to be realised and to create uncertainty in the minds of importers and exporters alike regarding the continued access to the market at preferential rates. Such a system most certainly discourages the development of competitive Asian manufacturing enterprises by the uncertainties as well as by unilaterally adjusting limits on the volume of goods allowed to compete on equal terms with EEC products.

While the suggested fundamental change in trade relationships between the EEC and developing countries may appear to be wishful thinking in a world of rampant protectionism, it is worth remembering that this notion was written into the GATT ground rules for world trade as early as 1969, and most significantly was advanced as an important condition for world trade expansion in the recent Tokyo Declaration which set forth the objectives and aspirations of the next round of multilateral trade negotiations to be held in Geneva in 1975.

In the event that this principle should be adopted, a most dramatic increase in EEC-Asian trade and capital flows can be anticipated. Although the volume and product mix of Asia's trade with Europe has expanded considerably during the past five years, the region encompassing two-thirds of the world's population and the world's third largest industrial power still accounts for less than 5 per cent of the total imports of the world's largest foreign trader. By way of comparison, Europe imports more from Africa, with less than 10 per cent of the world population and considerably less of the world's GNP, than from the entire Asian region, including China, India and Japan.

But this pattern will undoubtedly change during the next decade. Indeed, the process of rapid expansion of Europe-Asian trade seems already to have begun. By the second quarter of 1974, the monthly turnover of two-way Asia-Europe trade was double that of the average for 1972. While changes in the dollar's exchange rate and price increases accounted for a substantial part of the value increase, there was also a pronounced acceleration in the growth of Asia's exports to Europe throughout the first half of 1974.

But there was an even more dramatic increase in Europe's exports to developing Asian countries. Taiwan, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore all increased their take-off of European products by well over 100 per cent, with European deliveries to Taiwan growing almost 400 per cent during the two year period. Significantly, much of this expansion was stimulated by the increased foreign-exchange earnings of the developing Asian countries, reflecting the swing in the terms of trade in favour of developing areas over the past two years, a trend that has continued throughout 1974.

At the same time, European firms seemed at long last to have discovered the tremendous investment potential in Asia. The number of new European ventures in Japan, South Korea and South-East Asia has been growing steadily since 1972, promising to be but a foretaste of things yet to come.

The fact that most of this development owes little to the Community's

trade and investment policies has certainly not been lost on observers in Brussels and other European capitals. And the vision of what can be obtained from more dynamic and far-sighted industrial and trade policies may have gained wider currency in the Community is hopefully reflected in the recent burst of enthusiasm for negotiation of trade agreements with India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ceylon, and the ASEAN countries, as well as by the opening of the Community's delegation offices in Tokyo. Whether the stalemate in negotiations with Japan can be broken, or Europe will give a new, more meaningful dimension to its relationships with Asian developing countries in the spirit of the Tokyo Declaration, still remains to be seen.

One thing in all this is certain, however. With the rising importance of Asian markets for European products, the Community will find it increasingly imperative that the least favoured nation status to which Asian countries have been relegated in the past not be allowed to continue.

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EEC TRADE WITH ASIA—Imports

Monthly Averages. $US millions.

	1972	1973	1973				1974	
			Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.4	Q.1	Q.2
Japan	245.9	348.9	304.0	348.7	373.2	362.6	339.3	447.6
China	38.8	55.9	47.3	54.4	59.3	62.6	66.5	75.0
Pakistan	18.8	19.1	20.0	20.0	21.5	15.2	9.1	22.8
India	48.1	68.0	58.8	67.4	71.9	73.7	70.1	97.0
Ceylon	7.7	9.0	8.5	8.8	8.7	9.9	9.9	12.5
Thailand	14.3	22.2	19.3	22.5	22.6	24.6	34.0	40.5
Vietnam (So.)	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.0
Malaysia	34.5	65.6	52.4	62.6	66.4	80.9	88.2	97.6
Indonesia	23.7	37.1	26.5	32.0	41.3	48.5	42.8	43.2
Singapore	15.9	37.0	25.4	31.7	44.6	45.7	37.1	39.9
Korea (So.)	10.6	24.5	18.8	19.9	30.0	29.1	42.4	43.8
China (Taiwan)	24.2	46.5	39.5	42.3	49.6	54.6	59.6	61.1
Hong Kong	77.9	110.1	96.4	101.9	121.4	120.1	123.0	138.0
Philippines	14.7	21.2	15.9	19.8	20.0	28.7	22.1	27.2
Other countries	12.3	28.6	26.0	26.8	33.6	28.0	30.9	38.6
Total	588.0	894.5	759.3	859.5	965.1	985.5	996.8	1185.8

Source: OECD.

EEC TRADE WITH ASIA—Exports

Monthly Averages. $US millions.

	1972	1973	1973				1974	
			Q.1	Q.2	Q.3	Q.4	Q.1	Q.2
Japan	137.6	238.7	170.6	232.7	262.5	289.7	281.2	297.7
China	34.1	62.4	51.5	55.1	65.3	77.7	61.5	72.7
Pakistan	21.4	23.6	21.9	19.3	25.1	28.6	32.4	32.8
India	66.5	70.9	58.9	68.9	70.5	85.2	77.2	79.0
Ceylon	5.7	8.2	6.1	7.5	7.4	11.7	8.9	12.8
Thailand	20.1	27.3	21.8	25.3	28.5	33.3	38.4	49.9
Vietnam (So.)	4.8	4.5	4.5	4.5	3.9	4.9	3.5	3.9
Malaysia	24.0	36.2	25.0	37.1	39.7	43.5	44.0	58.4
Indonesia	22.7	40.3	31.3	33.5	44.8	51.6	53.6	63.3
Singapore	37.0	52.4	43.1	49.9	54.1	62.2	62.9	80.8
Korea (So.)	15.4	19.0	15.4	17.7	21.2	21.5	26.2	27.5
China (Taiwan)	15.0	35.6	20.1	30.7	39.6	52.1	55.9	57.9
Hong Kong	51.6	71.1	61.3	70.8	73.5	78.7	75.2	82.3
Philippines	14.2	18.6	13.8	16.4	20.0	24.6	24.9	37.4
Other countries	8.5	21.3	17.5	17.2	30.5	20.0	16.3	20.9
Total	478.6	730.1	562.8	686.6	786.6	885.3	862.1	977.3

Source: OECD.

PSYCHIATRY IN THE 'THIRTIES

by Eliot Slater

WHEN I was an ambitious young houseman in 1931, it occurred to me that I might further my ambition of becoming a neurologist if on my way I were to learn something of psychiatry. At that time neurologists were the most prestigious of all medical specialists, owing to great advances recently made in the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system. There were neurologists on the staff of all the London teaching hospitals, but practically no psychiatrists. All the psychiatric training which was given to the London medical student was to take him for half a dozen visits to one of the small private mental hospitals where he was shown a selection of patients far advanced in lunacy. These pathetic creatures seemed to him more like museum curiosities than fellow human beings such as he would ever expect to see in the course of ordinary practice. If he learned any lessons from these lecture demonstrations, he rapidly forgot them. It was not necessary to know the first thing about mental medicine or even human psychology to pass the qualifying examination to become a doctor.

At that time there were few if any general practitioners who had any idea how to handle neurotic patients, let alone the psychotic ones. Patients with nervous symptoms were dismissed with a bottle of medicine—the consumption of bromides was enormous—or if they were private rather than panel patients, and too demanding, they would be referred to a consultant.

The consultant would always be, not a psychiatrist, but a neurologist on the staff of one of the famous teaching hospitals. In private consulting rooms in Harley Street and its environs they monopolised the large and lucrative practice to be derived from neurotic and mentally disturbed patients. To be sure, they had no understanding of anxiety states and depressive illnesses, let alone of schizophrenia (*dementia praecox* it was called then), but they did not think this was at all necessary. They conceived their function as that of making a careful physical examination and excluding organic disease. Having done this, and having diagnosed 'neurasthenia' or 'hysteria', they returned the patient to his general practitioner for the bromide therapy. The patient was only sent on to see a psychiatrist (then called an alienist) if it was thought that he was seriously mad, and might have to be put under a 'certificate'. Since at least fifty per cent of a neurologist's income was derived from psychiatric patients, it seemed to me that there were sound prudential reasons for learning how to understand them.

So it was that in January 1931 I applied for and was appointed to the post of Assistant Medical Officer at a County Mental Hospital in the Midlands, at a salary of £350 p.a. and free residence. It seemed a very long way from London, which was the hub of the universe for me. The County and Borough mental hospitals were the places where nearly all the country's psychiatry was done, and of course their clientele were sufferers from one of the more serious forms of mental illness. There were very few places

where patients with neurotic problems could get any real understanding, in the main from a few psychotherapists in private practice or at a few hospital out-patient clinics. The patients admitted to mental hospitals came in under a certificate of insanity that deprived them of their liberty and most of their civil rights. They were acutely ill at the time of their admission, but in a good proportion of cases would recover fairly quickly. But the doctors would be very cautious and would keep them under care for many weeks until they were quite sure the patient had settled down, or until the relatives were pressing for discharge.

Discharge depended entirely on the Medical Superintendent of the hospital. He was its only medical officer in the eyes of the law, the rest of the medical staff being only his assistants and deriving their authority from him. Some medical superintendents were obsessed with the need for caution, and were not to be fully persuaded that a patient who had once been insane could ever be quite sane again. Such men would put up great resistance to the discharge of their patients. A patient could gain his freedom by escaping. If he could elude pursuit and maintain himself in freedom for a fortnight, the law regarded him as having proved his sanity and he was free. Another ruse adopted by medical assistants with a difficult 'super' was to advise the relatives to ask for the transfer of the patient from the rate-aided to the private class. Once the relatives were paying the full maintenance rate they could then re-apply for the patient's discharge which could now only be blocked by the issue of a barring certificate based on a reasoned argument that the patient was dangerous.

Maintenance rates were not heavy. Calculated on a basis of total costs of running the hospital divided by the total number of patients in residence, in many hospitals the rate came only to about twenty-five shillings a week. Some medical superintendents prided themselves on keeping the rate as low as possible. A rate as low as this was possible because the hospitals were planned as little villages, nearly self-supporting, isolated from the countryside by their high stone walls and great locked gates with lodge and weighbridge. Inside were a fair-sized farm and vegetable gardens, power house, bakeries, kitchens, laundries, as well as the hospital buildings proper and the houses for the staff. Within this island fortress the medical superintendent was the highest authority, and personally responsible for all his subordinates, even those important figures the Clerk and Steward, the Chief Engineer, the Matron and the Chief Male Nurse. He would commonly take great pride in the management of the farm and the quality of the pigs and poultry and garden produce. Great pride was also taken in the cricket and football grounds, tennis courts and bowling greens, and the success of the hospital teams in their engagements with other clubs. Life could be quite leisured, and at that time it was still possible for the 'super' to live the life of a gentleman farmer, invited to tennis parties at the Rectory, fishing and even riding to hounds.

Life was not quite so pleasant for the patients, many of whom had been there for years, living in long halls sparsely furnished, with attached dormitories and an allowance of single rooms in which a noisy patient could be

secluded. Personalities tended to deteriorate, in part perhaps from the progress of the disease, but mainly from institutionalisation. Confined to locked wards with an enclosed court for exercise, patients whose stormy illness had blown itself out leaving only residual symptoms, would remain year after year, unoccupied, deprived of incentive or responsibility or self-determination, getting more and more fixed in the straitjacket of an unchanging daily routine. Others were more fortunate. About half of the long-stay patients could lead an active life, working on the farm or laundries or bake-houses or elsewhere, and so having ground parole. Some of them became very attached to hospital life, and would resist the opportunity of discharge if it came up. In most cases their families had re-made their lives without them, and there would have been no welcoming home for them to go to. The process of institutionalisation was self-perpetuating. It was thought that a man who had become dependent on hospital life was unfit for independence; and a man who still believed in any of his old delusional ideas, however little he was affected by them, was still 'insane'.

Our modern ideas of rehabilitation, half-way houses, night hospitals and re-integration into the community were still unthought of, or were ideas germinating in the minds of reformers who had yet to achieve responsibility. However, if we have gained much, there was a guiding light in those days which has now almost gone out. The mental hospital, for all its faults, was an asylum, a place of refuge. Nowadays we have no asylums. Early discharge is the rule everywhere; and there is nowhere a man can go who finds the stresses of life too much for him, to get away from them for always. Nowadays those great high walls have been pulled down. The huge Victorian blocks, inadequate for the growing numbers of patients who pour in and pour out, have been supplemented by villas opening on roadways that communicate freely with the outside world. There is interchange on a brisk scale between the two worlds; the community has come into the hospital and the hospital has grown out into the community.

It was from such a remote backwater that I returned to London at the end of 1931 to take a junior post at the Maudsley Hospital. This was a five star institution in psychiatry, one of the only two post-graduate university schools in the country, the other being in Edinburgh. It was no place of leisure, but one of unremitting work, high ambition and research endeavour. I had said goodbye to the old chronics for whom (it was thought) nothing could be done, and I was flung into the care and treatment by the best standards then known of acutely psychotic patients. Most of the hospital was open. There were only two wards shut off by locked doors from the common passages, the two acute wards, one for men and one for women. They had a few side-rooms, a night dormitory, a day dormitory, a day room for those who were up and about during the day, a balcony opening freely into the enclosed garden, where there were more patients in bed, and the garden itself with lawn and flower beds. In one of these gardens a fine old yew tree had flourished for two hundred years or so. But one day a suicidal patient recognised its occult virtue and, surreptitiously stuffing his stomach with its leaves, absorbed sufficient of the poison to die. Then it was cut down.

Suicide was the great bugbear. Desperately suicidal patients had to be watched night and day, with no moment of privacy. Yet the suicides still occurred, with the rough edge of a broken cup, by self-strangulation under the bedclothes, and in countless other ways that could never be guarded against with total security. For the patient suicide was a release from unendurable miseries. For the hospital it was a grave reflection on compretence of conscientiousness, *prima facie* evidence of negligence. It meant a coroner's inquest, perhaps a disastrous verdict, and public shame in the local or national press, and odious correspondence with County Hall.

The daily task of treatment was to control the feverish emotions of acute mental illness, agitation, excitement, intractable insomnia, refusal of food and physical exhaustion. If these acute symptoms could be prevented from destroying the patient, in weeks or months there might be recovery, partial or complete. But the means of control were by today's standards few, ineffective and dangerous. The drugs used, paraldehyde, barbiturates, morphia and hyoscine, might have to be given in heroic doses at the risk of serious toxic effects. One of the milder ways of controlling a manic excitement was by means of the continuous bath, in which the patient was kept in water maintained at blood heat for two or three hours at a time. There was a good deal of splashing; and one had to put on a mackintosh gown before going through the bathroom door on the morning round, perhaps to be met with peals of laughter and a wave of water flung with scooped hands from the bath. One of the side-rooms in both male and female acute wards was a 'protected room' ('padded room'), with walls lined with heavy rubber against which the patient might dash himself without harm. I remember a young man with no mental illness, clear of mind, but with chorea; incessant violent involuntary movements flung him from wall to wall for weeks before recovery.

About the only effective treatment of a specifically curative kind that we had in those days was the malaria treatment of general paresis ('general paralysis of the insane' or 'GPI'). This was a late result of syphilis in which, after years of latency, the infection penetrated to the brain. Then the illness might break out suddenly in a manic attack, or melancholia, or confusion, or insidious delusions and hallucinations, or a gradually oncoming dementia. This disease, in a previous era in which it was irresistible and incurable, killed some famous men, including Nietzsche, Schumann and Hugo Wolf. All patients admitted to the hospital had a routine blood test to eliminate the possibility of syphilis. If it was positive, and if further tests disclosed GPI, then the patient was treated with malaria. Specially bred mosquitoes were brought from a government centre and permitted to bite the patient and inject into him a strain of malarial parasite, that of benign tertian fever. Then after an interval would begin agues occurring on alternate days. Temperatures were allowed to rise to 104 deg. F., being lowered by tepid sponging if they rose higher. After ten or twelve bouts of fever the malaria was cured by quinine. The high body temperature, sustained over so many hours, destroyed the syphilitic organisms in the brain, though beyond the reach of all other treatments that had ever been tried. In due course

malaria cures gave way to rises of temperature brought about by physical means, and that again to the best treatment, the modern use of penicillin.

The malaria cure was a kind of shock therapy, depending on a temperature shock. Many shock cures for insanity have been tried from time to time in the past two hundred years. One of the new therapies of the 'thirties, now almost forgotten, was insulin shock treatment. This proved beneficial and for many years until the appearance of a new range of drugs, the phenothiazines, it was the only treatment for schizophrenic illnesses which could be shown to be effective. The treatment was a dangerous one, requiring specially trained doctors and nurses working as a disciplined team in a special unit. As such, it aroused in them enthusiasm, determination and a strong rapport with the patient. For him it was not unpleasant, not worse than being given a mild and rather slowly acting anaesthetic. Every day he received a dose of insulin, increasing until he started drifting off to sleep, insulin sopor, and then eventually from sleep into coma, deep unconsciousness. In coma he was watched every instant, and it was not allowed to last longer than twenty minutes before he was brought round by being given glucose. When he had had twenty comas or so one usually saw a remarkable improvement in the mental state, at first in the morning after treatment, and then persisting into the rest of the day, and finally persisting after the treatment had been tapered off. A survey conducted at the Maudsley about this time showed that only about a third of the patients admitted during the previous three years, and not treated by insulin, had over those years made a total or social recovery. The remainder had some social defect, or were family invalids, or were still in hospital. Insulin shock treatment at least doubled the proportion of recoveries.

Insulin treatment was introduced by Sakel on an entirely fallacious theory. It was one of the lucky accidents of which there are so many in the history of medicine. No one knew how or why it worked; and now that the treatment has gone out of use we shall never know, at least until the last of the biochemical riddles that surround schizophrenia have been solved.

Insulin sopor treatment, not involving dangerous comas, proved of great service during the 1939-1945 war with acute war neuroses. It was a kind of sleep therapy, another ancient idea. Sleep therapy, managed by very heavy doses of hypnotic drugs, was the one treatment we had in the early 'thirties which was of any avail with acute psychotic illnesses. It was generally combined with a policy of early discharge from hospital. Within a few days of admission the treatment would begin, aiming at twelve to sixteen hours of sleep a day with drowsy intervals in which the patient could be roused to eat and drink. To cope with the heavy drug load and the dangers of intoxication, the kidneys had to be kept working, and somehow or other five pints of fluid had to be taken in the twenty-four hours. With good fortune the patient could be carried through the acute psychotic episode in this way, knowing little of the terrifying symptoms and remembering nothing of them afterwards.

Of all the physical treatments that appeared in the 'thirties the most important and successful was convulsion therapy. This was the brainwave

of a Hungarian, Meduna, and like insulin therapy was based on an entirely mistaken theory. The treatment began to show successes from the start, but not so much with the schizophrenics for whom it had been dreamed up as with the melancholics. The treatment consisted in causing the patient to have an epileptic fit by giving an injection of a convulsant drug. The sensations experienced before the fit came on were so horrible that it was necessary to give an anaesthetic. Then the drug-induced convulsion was replaced by an electrically induced one which needed no anaesthetic as unconsciousness was instantaneous. The final improvement was to cut out the convulsion itself by giving a muscular relaxant, so that nothing remained but the electrically induced nervous discharge in the brain. In this modern form the treatment is very mild. All that the patient experiences is a prick into a vein while lying relaxed on a couch, and recovery to normal awareness some ten minutes later. But even at its worst in the early days of application, the horrid treatment was far less horrid than the abysms of misery of the mental illness for which it was given.

Few British doctors now have any conception of what it was like to have an 'involutional depression' in those days. This was an illness which would come on insidiously in later middle life, usually in persons of excellent character, steady, conscientious, reliable, the trusted worker or the efficient housewife. Feelings of depression would grow ever deeper, with guilt and self-blame, agitation, panic, nightmares, sleeplessness, the loss of all hope. It was usually a long illness, getting better only after months, or even years, sometimes never. Nowadays no one ever drifts into such depths. At any time the depression can be rapidly relieved with modern electroshock therapy; and even that is rarely needed since the state is recognised at an early stage and yields to anti-depressant drugs.

As one set of problems is solved, another set takes its place. In the 'thirties the psychiatric illnesses of the old were not a large scale problem. There were not enough of the very old then, as there are now, to fill ward after ward with psychogeriatric patients. Before the antibiotics were discovered a patient with senile dementia did not last very long before dying of an infection. Now we are much more successful, and we keep them alive year after year in ever deepening mindlessness and in ever growing numbers. In the 'thirties we had no thalidomide babies. Newly born infants without limbs were not considered viable and did not survive. The young in those days did not have today's facilities for drug addiction, for self-inflicted wounds, for attempted suicide as a 'cry for help'. People with neurotic or personal or sexual or social or marital problems had to do the best they could to work them out for themselves. Or ask the help of God and the parish priest.

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POPULATION POLICY AND THE PRESS: THE EXAMPLE OF BRAZIL

by Lois A. Monteiro

IN its official population policy, the Brazilian Government opposes the control of natality to the extent of enacting laws preventing the dispersion of information on birth control. One reason which is often given in support of this policy of unlimited population growth is the existence of large uninhabited territories in the western and north-western parts of the country, mainly Mato Grosso and Amazonas, and, as the argument goes, uncontrolled growth of population is necessary to provide the numbers of people needed to settle in these areas and exploit the natural resources believed to exist there. Nevertheless, a large division of opinion on population control exists within the country and there is support as well for an anti-natalist position which argues that the strain of a large, dependent young population and of a high rate of population increase is a severe economic burden to Brazil or to any country in the process of industrialisation. An extended article in one of the country's most important newspapers, the *Estado Sao Paulo*, published in Sao Paulo, the largest city, described this division of opinion over the demographic explosion in Brazil:

> The 'demographic explosion' has been the object of growing interest in the press, by our leaders, and by those who are involved in the development of Brasil. It is a controversial theme. There are those who believe that a rapid population growth will help the economic development of the country, and is necessary if we are to be a strong, powerful, economically independent and influential nation . . . There are others who think differently . . . and believe that a growth rate of 3 per cent per year, and a doubling of population every 23 years, is an impediment to stable growth and to raising the standard of living and the quality of life of our people (Da Costa, September 20, 1970).

The interest of the press in the controversy over birth control serves to maintain the subject as a national issue, especially among the informed public. It is a controversy which involves not only Brazil's political leaders, but also the intellectual leaders and extends into the military hierarchy, the medical and pharmaceutical professions and the church. A report of the creation, in 1968, of the Society of Family Welfare, a Brazilian organisation which advocates family planning and population control, has noted that news on family planning, and related subjects such as sterilisation, abortion, and even genocide, produced press material of great controversy during the year 1967 (Rodriques, 1968). Furthermore, as a reviewer of Brazilian demographic patterns observed, almost any distinguished visitor to Brazil, be he statesman or rock singer, is likely to be asked in press interviews his opinion on birth control (Sanders, 1970). That these diverse aspects of the birth control issue are being considered in the mass media, documents that, even in a censored press, material of a sensitive nature can be handled when it is reported circumspectly.

Stycos (1968) in his studies of fertility in Latin American countries has examined some of the positions, both pro-natalist and anti-natalist, taken by intellectuals of these countries on the issue of population control. The same viewpoints, and the same arguments which have been used in other countries also appear in the Brazilian mass media.

One pro-natalist argument is that the real problem in Latin America is one of under-population rather than excess population. This is the essence of the by-line article in the *Estado Sao Paulo* by Jose de Carmargo in which the underpopulation argument is bolstered with statistics on the differences in population in the various regions of Brazil, to emphasise the regional disequilibrium in population as well as the insufficient density of population in some areas. Newspaper references to the under-population argument can also be found in the remarks of Finance Minister Delfim Netto at an international meeting in Denmark, and in a report on the Russian policy of encouraging population growth because of the country's large size and low population density.

A second pro-natalist position argues that a large population is necessary to provide a sufficient labour force and a large internal market. These sentiments can be found in a news report of a lecture by Professor Jose Nabuco at Brazil's War College. Nabuco used Japan as his example to defend the pro-natalist position, and credited that country's economic recuperation after World War II to the size of its labour force and its population density. A nationalistic flavour, added to the argument favouring population growth as a source of an internal market is apparent in an advertisement entitled *Someday There will be Two Hundred Million of Us.* After noting with pride that Brazil will grow from 93 million to 130 million inhabitants within the current decade and to 212 million by the year 2000, it continues, 'This will result in the consumption of more automobiles, more refrigerators, more televisions, more everything.'

Those arguments in the Brazilian press which favour population control, i.e. the anti-natalist viewpoint, often centre on the need to improve the quality of life for the population. One editorial which takes an anti-natalist view, notes that Robert McNamara, as head of the World Bank, finds the population problem a serious threat to economic development. The editorial adds, 'His appeal deserves thought. It seems to us it will not be possible to bring about social development when there is a simultaneous explosion of humanity condemned to misery.' A different article uses the same argument regarding population and socio-economic factors but it reverses the relationships between the variables. Sociologist Elsa Berquo suggests, in this item, that the elimination of poverty is a political measure which will in turn lead to family planning and a decline in population growth. In her opinion the national emphasis should be on raising the standard of living rather than on population control programmes.

Aside from these clearly pragmatic articles in which the object is to present a case either for or against fertility control, a large number of items appear not to take a stand on the issue but rather to present information which is presumed to be of general interest. Magazine features on 'the pill' make up the bulk of these articles. The major portion of these magazine

items should be classified as against birth control, for the articles emphasise the side effects and the risks involved in the use of oral contraceptives. *The Pill—Should It Be Prohibited* and *Beware of The Pill* are two magazine article titles which exemplify this kind of journalism. On the other hand, *The Pill*, a general article in a daily newspaper, expressed the opposite view with the assertion that 'the contraceptive pill presents less risk to health than smoking, driving, swimming, or being pregnant.' Despite the appearance of a stance against the pill in these articles, it is unwarranted to consider that in emphasising the contraindications of oral contraceptives the Brazilian magazines are taking a deliberate editorial position against family planning. Rather, it is probably more likely that such articles are motivated by the wish to present the material in a sensational manner in order to increase the sales of the magazines.

A humorous approach is another method which the Brazilian press occasionally uses to handle the issue of population control. This kind of treatment has appeared in the articles entitled *Animals Too, Tests Show Darwin Was Right*, and *A Mistake, Pill and Baby, Grounds for Lawsuit*. Given the fact that these items make light of the population issue and suggest that humans behave foolishly with regard to birth control, they should probably be considered as on the opposing side in the controversy. Yet the joke can be, and often is, also turned to favour the anti-natalists, at the expense of both the opponents of population control and the church as well. In *The Pill—Is It An Invention of the Devil*, a reference is made to a medication which promotes fertility for sterile women. The article calls this 'the Catholic pill.' Another anti-natalist report, *The Government and the Clergy —The Only Natalists*, gets its title from the remark that only the government and the clergy are against birth control, 'and neither of them has a family.' Both these items, although treating the subject with humour, favour birth control measures.

Advertisements using references to the pill may be one of the best indicators of the extensiveness of the reading public's knowledge and its general attitude toward the pill. Two advertisements which have been used clearly depend on the reader's knowledge of 'the pill' and what 'the pill' does. One of these, an advertisement for a stomach upset remedy, 'The Pill For Men', makes subtle *machismo* references to the sexual freedom which oral contraceptives make possible, while the other, an advertisement for an iron supplement to replace iron lost during menstruation, suggests that if one remembers to take 'the pill' one is certain to have menstrual iron loss and thus need the remedy being advertised. Both items use only a photograph of a pill as the visual portion of the advertisement, assuming that the reader will associate the image of the advertised pill with 'the pill.' The advertisers are clearly depending upon a positively affective (i.e., anti-natalist) reaction from the reader towards oral contraceptives, and are using this positive association to stimulate the sale of the medication being advertised.

Another advertisement, encaptioned, 'Yes,' is as direct an advertisement for oral contraceptives as one could expect to find in a country where it is illegal to disperse information on the topic. This shows a bridal couple,

wearing formal wedding clothes, holding hands, perhaps before the altar. But the lens is focused in, so that the only portion of the couple actually seen is their clasped hands and the bride's lower abdomen, with the centre point of the page approximately over the bride's uterus. The advertisement is from Merck, Sharpe and Dohme Drug Company whose Brazilian affiliate produces a commonly used oral contraceptive, Umbral. The advertisement, which takes an approach similar to the one used in the United States by the Planned Parenthood Association (Elliot, 1971), does not directly mention the oral contraceptive but emphasises the use of medication to protect the couple. Among the phrases used in the advertisement are: 'confident of the future,' 'protects the couple,' 'the children that may come,' 'to prevent,' and 'to assure more hours of an active and happy life.' Compare these, especially the last phrase, with the Planned Parenthood advertisement: 'Get to know what you both are like . . . Get to enjoy your freedom together before you start to have a family.'

The press coverage of the population issue also serves the latent function of making available a source of information on family planning to the large audience of the mass media. Some of this information on methods of birth control is not otherwise easily accessible to the Brazilian public. Although, as has been noted, distribution of birth control information is prohibited by law, the fact that these articles which technically violate the law are allowed to appear in the government censored press suggests that the laws against dispersion of information are not being enforced. This gives further evidence of the division of opinion regarding the official stance on the population control issue.

The information-providing aspect of these articles is sometimes very explicit. For example, two newspaper items listed by brand name sixty-one kinds of oral contraceptives being sold in Brazilian pharmacies, and a magazine article included a photograph of a box of the Lilly Co. oral contraceptive, Sequens. Some articles, in the guise of being critical of oral contraceptives, serve to inform the reader of methods other than the pill. A *Claudia* magazine item *Beware of the Pill,* discusses intrauterine devices, rhythm, creams and jellies, condoms and withdrawal as alternatives to the pill. *Manchete,* a magazine which has a large and general circulation (as opposed to *Claudia,* a women's magazine), carried an article which discusses and goes into some detail about intrauterine devices, and includes a photograph of one type of device.

The possibilities of sterilisation and abortion as birth control measures tend to be more gingerly approached. A rather common ploy to introduce these touchy subjects is through a report from another country, e.g. *The English Approve of Sterilisation;* a London dateline article, *Abortions Increase During Vacation Period;* and a New York dateline item, *Abortion Legalised.* Such items report on the climate of opinion in other countries but are circumspect about offering any editorial remarks or making any application of the news to the Brazilian situation. An editorial item on abortion which appeared as a signed column in the *Estado Sao Paulo* strongly opposed this method of population control calling those persons who propose the method 'humanitarian assassins,' and in a report on the

medical opinion about birth control the high rate of illegal abortion in Brazil is referred to, but the point is used as an argument not for legalising abortion but for increasing contraceptive counselling and for instituting more pervasive educational campaigns.

The Brazilian medical profession's reactions on population control can be examined as an interesting microcosm of the more general division on the issue. Items entitled *Approval of Contraceptives Asked* and *Gynecologist Will Give Information on the Use of The Pill*, show how some physicians are attempting to stimulate the government to accept family planning counselling as a public health measure. On the other hand, a report that *Doctors in Rio Disapprove of Birth Control* notes that whereas the Brazilian Society of Obstetricians has called for more liberal abortion laws, the Rio de Janeiro Medical Society has taken a position against a national policy of population control, and is officially against any method of birth control. The anti-contraceptive faction within the medical group was instrumental in obtaining legislation to require a prescription in order to purchase oral contraceptives, and a conference of pharmacists recommended that the sale of oral contraceptives be controlled. Legislation was subsequently passed to limit these sales.

Usually a prescription is not needed to obtain medication in Brazil, and even if the purchaser does have a prescription it is he rather than the druggist who keeps the prescription. Before the legislation became effective, contraceptive medication was easy to obtain. On one occasion this writer was given a box of the Lilly oral contraceptive, Sequens, when the pharmacist misunderstood her pronunciation of saccharin. The legislation change, which made it mandatory for the purchaser of oral contraceptives to have a new prescription every three months, and required that the prescription be retained by the pharmacist, is very strict, and represents strong pressure against oral contraceptive use. Nevertheless, two news items which reported the legislation were effective in subverting the law's intention to a limited extent, for both pieces listed by their brand names the 61 kinds of available oral contraceptives, and furthermore, one noted that black market pills are available and gave the names and addresses of fourteen clinics in Sao Paulo where free prescriptions could be obtained.

The review presented here documents the treatment of the population issue in Brazil's mass media. It indicates that population control is a viable issue in the country despite attempts to legislate against it and shows the diversity in the positions being taken with regard to the issue. The subject of demographic planning involves the military, the medical profession, the church and the government in a delicate balance of allegiances and interests in the evolution of the country's position on birth control.

The educational function of these items should not be overlooked, for it would appear that the press serves as an important source of information on birth planning in Brazil. The large number of articles on oral contraceptives suggests a widespread knowledge (among the reading public) of the existence of oral contraceptives, and the references to these medications in advertising suggests that there is a positive attitude towards their use. However, recently passed legislation regulates the sale of oral contraceptives and

eliminates the easy availability of such medications to persons who can not make quarterly visits to a physician for prescription renewals. From the opinions expressed in these news items it would seem that the use of sterilisation or legalised abortion as accepted population control measures in Brazil is an unlikely course of action.

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Note: A list of the Brazilian sources for this article is available from the author on request, c/o *Contemporary Review.*

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The March issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Food, Development and the Crisis* by Nigel Harris; *Shaw's Heaven and Hell* by Raymond S. Nelson; *Australia, the Newest Continent* by John E. Owen and *Race Relations: Clubs Concern Us All* by Sir Geoffrey Wilson.

ANIMALS HAVE RIGHTS

by W. J. Jordan

ANIMALS have rights and we have duties to them. The Cruelty to Animals Act, 1876, is an enabling Act which, in effect, safeguards the experimenter more than the 5,000,000 animals it is supposed to protect in fields of experimentation which did not even exist when the Act was introduced. The public is well meaning but sadly ill-informed and complacent because they do not know the truth.

Let us be honest, candid and—dare I say—sympathetic, when dealing with the very real problem of animal experimentation, for animals are not machines, but living creatures.

Let us remember that, for the sake of justice, humanity and morality, where doubt exists, the animal must have the benefit of that doubt. *And it does exist.* There is doubt as to whether many of the experiments being carried out on live animals are necessary; doubt as to whether the number of animals used in each experiment is essential to the fulfilment of that experiment. There is doubt as to whether sufficient time and trouble has been taken to look for alternatives to the use of live animals in experimentation; doubt as to the effectiveness of the fourteen Home Office Inspectors who are empowered to 'enter registered premises (unregistered premises have the right to refuse admission) and ensure that the provisions of the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act (now nearly 100 years old) are being adhered to', particularly with regard to the pain clause[1]:

(a) If an animal at any time is found to be suffering pain which is either severe or is likely to endure, and if the main result of the experiment has been attained, the animal shall forthwith be painlessly killed;
(b) If an animal at any time during any such experiment is found to be suffering severe pain which is likely to endure, such animal shall forthwith be painlessly killed;
(c) If an animal appears to an Inspector to be suffering considerable pain, and if such Inspector directs such animal to be destroyed, it shall forthwith be painlessly killed.

Can we really believe that fourteen Inspectors, even if they are prepared to do so, are able to

(a) examine every experiment in progress in this country, when we know that the total number of experiments is *over 5¼ million conducted in 607 establishments* (in other words 10 experiments per minute, 24 hours a day, every day of the year);
(b) recommend the use of analgesics when pain is severe; and
(c) terminate the experiment when pain is extreme when the objects of the experiment have been reached.

Let it be quite clear that the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act which governs the use of live animals in medical and scientific experimentation is an umbrella (a very small umbrella) to cover this subject, often in fields that were at that time unthought of.

Many people accept that at the present state of scientific knowledge some animal experimentation is necessary and they acknowledge that past experimentation has led to significant advances in human and veterinary

medicine. Furthermore, there are statutory requirements that certain safety and potency tests on a wide variety of substances must be carried out on animals. These will be considered later.

There are some who believe that the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 forms an adequate framework for the supervision and control of animal experiments, providing that an adequate number of Home Office Inspectors operate under the Act. According to the Littlewood Report (1) In 1964, when 4.5 million experiments were performed annually, there were to be 21 Inspectors. In 1972, 5.1 million experiments were performed with only 14 appointed.2 (2) Much of the research and testing carried out today was not even envisaged in 1876, nor was the present extensive use of animals in physiological, psychological and pharmacological demonstrations in universities and colleges. So can we expect an Act nearly 100 years old to cope adequately? In effect, the 1876 Act legislates to prevent any experiment on live animals and then allows the issue of certificates which can exempt the holder from all the prohibitions on the Act. The Royal Commission of 1912 set up an advisory committee to consider an ever-increasing number of experiments presenting new questions of principle; to advise licencees, and to ensure that new experiments do not impose additional cruelties on the laboratory animal. The Advisory Committee now rarely meets and has not in fact met in the last one and a half years. Is it right for the Government to put up a blanket defence of all animal experiments on the grounds that they actually or potentially save human suffering? Strictly medical research now only accounts for a proportion of all the experiments performed. In 1920, when medical categories for cancer research, diagnostic testing and the testing of drugs, sera and vaccines were first recorded, they accounted for 62% of the total. Last year they had dropped to 31% of the over 5¼ million experiments: the field of cancer research accounting for only 7%.

It can be argued, of course, by those who blindly defend animal experimentation, that the testing of weapons, cosmetics, weedkillers and food additives of no nutritive value are for the purpose of 'the advancement by new discovery of physiological knowledge or knowledge useful for the saving or prolonging of life or alleviation of suffering', to use the words of the Act.

Could it not be said that in Man's mindless search for knowledge he is losing compassion and the word 'humane' begins to take on a new meaning.

A few examples are:

(a) The effect of soap on the skin has been assessed by exposing shaved rats to repeated soap applications until in some cases 'fissuring of the whole epidermis occurred'. (*Prottey et al*).[3]

(b) In 1970, 12 baboons were poisoned to death with lead carbonate followed by a further three in 1974 by the same author. The medical benefit to Man remains suspect but the suffering entailed was considerable, with epileptic fits and *grande mal* seizures predominant until death. (Hopkins A.)[4]

(c) New cosmetic products are tested for irritant properties on unanaesthetised rabbits' eyes. Shampoos and soaps are instilled into the eyes of unanaesthetised rabbits restrained in canvas sleeves. 'Swelling (of the cornea) occurs rapidly and the tissue remains in a swollen state for two or three days'. Corneal swelling increases up to 180% above normal with the pupil barely discernible and no details of the iris visible. 'In this laboratory, we classify as persistent all reactions that continue longer than 21 days after treatment'. 'Anaesthesia was not found to be necessary'. (Burton A. B. G.).[5]

The RSPCA prefers to talk of 'animal experimentation' rather than 'vivisection' which is strictly the cutting up of a living animal by surgery, because this accounts for relatively few of the 5¼ million experiments now carried out annually in this country. The Society concedes that some experiments may well be necessary, but our policy has been to oppose all experiments that cause pain or suffering. If pain is likely to be caused, the animal should be anaesthetised and not allowed to recover if, on doing so, it will still be suffering pain, but be put to sleep under the anaesthetic.

When the Act was first passed, it was a model for the whole world and only about 300 experiments a year in this category were being performed. But the tremendous demands of medical research and also the use of animals in experiments for non-medical purposes (representing 60% of all experiments) has now convinced the RSPCA that stricter control is necessary. For the 1876 Act never envisaged non-medical experiments such as live animal tests for cosmetics (for example, hair shampoos), weedkillers and food additives. It is claimed, of course, that all these tests are medical, since someone might die or be blinded by taking or using the products. But the chemical components of these commodities are already known to have certain effects in humans and the Society feels that there is unnecessary duplication in the testing of them.

Both the numbers of experiments and the number of persons licenced to experiment have increased exponentially since the Act was introduced in 1876. It is significant that the proportion of ostensibly medical experiments has dropped from 62% to its present level of 31%. The remaining two-thirds of licenced British experiments involve research and testing of a non-medical nature.

In 1972, 4.1% of all experiments were for diagnostic purposes, 20.1% were for testing of drugs, sera and vaccines, and only 7.5% were for cancer research. Although the RSPCA Animal Experimentation Advisory Committee recognises the importance of some medical research to alleviate human suffering, its prime aim is to reduce the high proportion of non-medical experiments performed on animals each year by a more rigorous enforcement of the 1876 Act.

There seems to be an increasing relaxation in the administration of the Act by the Home Office which has enabled cruel experiments to be carried out for commercial interest and personal gain.

It is often said that there are mandatory requirements for animal testing of cosmetics. The Medicines Act 1968 lays down statutory requirements for animal testing of medical products. Yet under the Medicines (exemption

from licences Food and Cosmetics) Order 1971 (SI 1971 No. 1410) foods and cosmetics not used 'wholly or mainly' for medicinal purposes are exempted from the Act and therefore manufacturers of exempted products are under no stautory obligation to test these products on animals. Cosmetics are defined by the Department of Health and Social Security as follows:

> Cosmetic means any substance or preparation intended to be applied to the various surfaces of the human body including epidermis, pilary system and hair, lips and external genital organs, or the teeth and *buccal mucosa* wholly or mainly for the purpose of perfuming them, cleansing them, protecting them, caring for them or keeping them in condition, modifying their appearance (whether for aesthetic purposes or otherwise) or combating body odours or normal body perspiration.

It is only if cosmetics have curative or remedial claims in relation to particular diseases or, alternatively, if they contain any antibiotics or proportionally more than 0.004% of any hormone, or more than 1% of resoroinol that they are not exempted from the requirements of the Act.

The Home Office is totally unable and unwilling to distinguish between cosmetics and therapeutic substances. 'The term cosmetic is extremely difficult to define and its definition presents a major problem which seems incapable of any solution likely to produce useful results'.

Animal experiments of a non-medical nature are the main concern of the Society and can be divided into the following groups:

1. Psychological
2. Food additives
3. Cosmetic toiletries
4. Herbicides and pesticides
5. Industrial and military
6. Veterinary and agricultural

Psychological experiments on animals contravene the wording of the 1876 Act but are condoned nevertheless by the Home Office. These experiments often involve intense cruelty, particularly with regard to stress and deprivation experiments. The scientific value of these experiments is often difficult to discern. For example, in the testing by C. F. Morrison (1974)[6] of the effect of nicotine on the ability of rats to avoid electric shocks, which was performed at the Tobacco Research Laboratories at Harrogate. 50 rats received electric shocks every 30 seconds. Pressing a lever postponed the shock for 30 seconds. Warning sounds preceded the shocks for some of the rats. 25 of the rats were injected with nicotine prior to the electric shocks, which continued for one hour each day.

The remaining 25 received saline injections. The rats' behaviour was observed by closed circuit television. Behaviour, i.e. sniffing, grooming, was categorised and recorded. The author observed differences in total behaviour between nicotine-injected rats and controls. Crouching behaviour elicited by unsignalled shocks was thought to be induced by fear. It was the hope of the author that future experiments would provide further information about the effects of nicotine in stressful situations. But rats do not normally smoke and Man does, so why subject animals to this type of experiment when human volunteers can be used?

Although widely recognised as being inaccurate, cruel techniques such as acute and L.D.50 toxicity tests are still required by law for food and food packing products. The L.D.50 test, as its code implies, is the amount of substance required to kill 50% of the group of animals. Usually a group of 10 animals are given a dose of poison or other substance sufficient to make all 10 very ill, some of the animals eventually dying and some just surviving. By the very nature of this test, anaesthetics cannot be used in carrying it out. One example of this is in the testing of riot control irritant gas (CR) on rabbits and rats by D. G. Upshall at the Chemical Defence Establishment, Porton Down.[7] C.R. is a powerful skin irritant, causing skin irritation, sneezing and tear formation. Pregnant rats and rabbits were exposed and forced to inhale CR aerosols 'at concentrations 2 to 3 orders of magnitude higher than those that might be required to disperse rioters'. Groups of 22 animals were exposed to the aerosol for 5-7 minutes daily for 10 consecutive days during pregnancy. The foetuses were examined for malformations.

CR was also administered by force feeding high doses to rats and rabbits up to 7 days and by injecting intravenously at doses near the LD50 value. LD50 values were quoted and presumably determined at Porton Down.

Apart from foetal malformations, the effect of this treatment on the animals is not described. 'In view of the negative findings (no malformations) after high dosages of aerosol and intragastric solutions, it was considered necessary to administer the agent systematically (by injection) to simulate an extremely high body intake'.

The RSPCA set up an Advisory Committee of experts to look into the whole problem of animal experimentation. The members of the Animal Experimentation Advisory Committee are people with specialised knowledge in the fields of physiology, pharmacology, law, veterinary science, education, psychology and Government. Since it was set up two years ago the Committee has met frequently to discuss the evidence brought to light on animal experimentation and the progress of the qualified Zoologist who is in the full time employ of the RSPCA to investigate this particular problem. The Committee hopes to finish an interim report to the council on its work in the next few weeks.

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J. M. W. TURNER—A BICENTENARY AND A MAJOR EXHIBITION

by Ernle Money

ALTHOUGH he is widely acclaimed as the greatest of British painters, Turner is not an artist with whom it is easy to come to terms. His work was complex as it was prolific and he did not fit into either the direct tradition of Romanticism or the English landscape school. He remains *sui generis*, one of those figures like Beethoven and Monet whose achievement can only really be measured in terms of itself.

This position is complicated by the fact that Turner's work *seems* to be extremely familiar to us. He is widely represented in both public and private collections in this country. Since the days of Ruskin he has been the subject of constant critical attention and few other native artists can have been more widely covered by exhibition, reproduction and interpretative study over the years.

Yet, as the current bicentenary exhibition at Burlington House shows, he is an artist who both needs to be reconsidered as a whole and about whom there is still a great deal to learn. The exhibition, which has been jointly organised by the trustees of the Royal Academy and those of the Tate Gallery, covers a wider selection of Turner's work, both oil paintings, drawings and watercolours, than has ever been available together to the public at one time. Although the bulk of his output has remained in this country, foreign collections have been generous in their loans. *The Wreck of a Transport Ship* and *The Mouth of the Seine, Quille-Boeuf* from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, the *East Cowes Regatta* from Indianapolis, the *Val d'Aosta* and the great *Red Rigi* watercolour from Melbourne, *The Mortlake Terrace, The Keelmen Heaving in Coals by Night* and the *Dogana and Madonna Della Salute* from Washington, the *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying* from Boston, the *Val d'Aout* from the Art Institute of Chicago and *The Burning of the Houses of Parliament* from Philadelphia have all been included, as well as a number of pictures from the Mellon and other overseas collections.

An element of controversy has been added to the exhibition by the fact that the National Gallery in London itself has been willing to lend only two of the major Turners which it holds. This, in fact, serves to highlight some of the complexities arising from the terms of Turner's own bequest of pictures from his studio to the British public. As recently as the time of the museum charges controversy under the last government, the Turner bequest was the subject of legal complications, but ever since the case of his contested will this has been the case. The decision of the trustees of the National Gallery to restrict their loans, though, I think, regrettable, was only one facet of what has been a continuing story.

Even more surprising is the history of public exhibition of the works left to the nation. Several of these in fact have seen the light of day for the first time in the present exhibition. In his excellent and scholarly catalogue

Introduction, Mr. Martin Butlin, Keeper of the British Collection at the Tate Gallery, gives an account of this. 'Only 118 of the 285 oils were even given inventory numbers straight away, and of these only thirteen, so far as one can tell, had never been exhibited in his lifetime; even these were pretty conservative in style. These works can easily be picked out at the Tate and National Galleries: their numbers run from 458 to 562. It was not until the twentieth century that any further oils were numbered: 1857 to 1890 in 1901, 1980 to 2068 (including "Norham Castle") in 1905, 2302 to 2707 in 1908 and 1910, 2857-3557 at intervals between 1911 and 1920, 4445-4665 in 1929 and 1932 and 5473-5546 in 1944. The last batch, as Lord Clark has described, were discovered in the cellars of the National Gallery, rolled up and thought to be old tarpaulins. Even now the Conservation Department of the Tate Gallery, despite a special effort to concentrate on the magnificent holding of Turner's works, is still faced with a number of works remaining to be freed from over a hundred years of dirt and neglect, and exciting discoveries continue to be made, for instance [a number of entries] in this exhibition'.

As this excerpt suggests, conservation is and has long been a major problem with Turner's work. The Redgraves gave a hair-raising contemporary account of the condition in which the paintings in his studio were discovered at his death. Other factors, such as his use of particular and self-destructive pigments and his practice of almost totally re-shaping paintings on varnishing days at the Royal Academy exhibitions, are an even more controversial field. What is clear, and as this exhibition produces abundant evidence, is that the condition of Turner's pictures makes a great deal of difference to their full enjoyment.

It makes a great deal of difference also to be able to enjoy his development as a whole, particularly where one subject is treated over and over again during the years. An interesting example of this is Norham Castle where one room at Burlington House has been given over to Turner's treatment of this between 1798 and 1840.

It is equally interesting to be able to consider Turner's great post-1830 oils as a group. The affinity with Beethoven and Monet has already been mentioned and it is certainly the case that the 'colour symphonies' (for want of a better description) like the National Gallery at Melbourne's *Val d'Aosta, The Hero of a Hundred Fights* and numerous other pictures need to be considered as a separate but inter-related whole in the same way as Beethoven's last quartets or the Monet Lily Pond or Westminster Bridge sequences. Here the artist is not only transcending the existing disciplines of his time but the restrictions of his chosen subject-matter to produce an utterly personal statement, or series of statements, in terms of his use of movement, light and colour. The same is true of great Swiss watercolours of the 1840-46 period, a number of which have been brought together for the exhibition. Although Turner was to have a less direct impact on the Impressionists than other artists, such as Constable, his effect on European art generally was still an immense one.

Since, except during the earliest part of his lifetime, he chose to break from the existing English topographical tradition and his interpretation of

the tenets of historical paintings was personalised to a degree, it is almost surprising that he became and remained as popular and successful with contemporary collectors. Gainsborough, save for a very few exceptions, worked continuously within the restrictions of fashionable taste in his own day. Not so Turner, whose patrons had to accept his work entirely from his own view. He became, from his art, a very rich man, which gave him a necessary degree of financial independence and security. He was elected both A.R.A. (in 1799) and R.A. (in 1802) at an early age and his relations with the Royal Academy remained close throughout his life, even to the extent of his acting as President during Shee's illness in 1845. His highly individual views on perspective did not stop him acting as Professor of that subject there for many years, though it is right to say that however much Turner came to use impressionistic effects with the colour and the form of his pictures, he never in fact distorted the perspective of scenes which he painted, in the way that later artists were to do, in order to create a particular effect.

Some of the most notable of his commissioned work, done for the Third Earl of Egremont (1760-1837) for Petworth is in fact missing from the exhibition because of the physical risks involved in moving canvasses, though there is a charming watercolour, *The Spilt Milk*, painted in 1828 or thereabouts, included which was carried out to appease the Earl's granddaughter, whose dress the artist had inadvertently spoiled at breakfast whilst staying at Petworth. The ancillary section of the exhibition, dealing with Turner's life and times, including sketch books, letters and other documents and personal mementoes, is in fact extremely well constructed. Particularly revealing is a late portrait by S. W. Parrott (c.1846 in execution), which shows the artist on varnishing day, standing close up to a painting to which he is to make his proverbial last-minute alterations. Turner is shown as a short, thick-set, weatherbeaten sort of man (he was often described as looking like a retired sea captain and seems, *pace* his adopted alias as Captain or Admiral Booth, to have taken pleasure in the description), wearing an old-fashioned frock coat and with a large silk hat, slightly tipped, on his head.

He must, for all his solitary and somewhat secretive nature, have been a lovable individual. He has been accused of meanness over money matters and of treating his close dependants harshly, but his relations with his father, to whom he became increasingly close after the tragedy of his mother's mental breakdown and incarceration in various asylums, were touching to a degree. Although he could be suspicious and sometimes surprisingly jealous of contemporaries, he was held in both affection and regard by many other artists of his time. There is a moving letter by his dealer Thomas Griffith, who was also one of his executors, included with the exhibition. 'You would be surprised to know the number of applications which we received from parties desirous of paying the last tribute of respect to Turner's memory . . . there was a long line of spectators five or six deep the whole way (at his burial at St. Paul's) and I believe there was not a dry eye amongst them . . . '

Certainly, although Turner had stood apart from and above the main stream of English painting during most of his lifetime, there was a strong feeling that a great deal of national glory had departed with his death in 1851. However much he had developed his own style of execution, he had remained conservative in many ways in his choice of subject matter; but although recent biographers have tended to stress the literary element in his works, Mr. Butlin is surely right when he stresses that his overriding means of expression were basically visual. He was a great reader, particularly of poetry, but in these terms remained essentially self-educated. As Mr. Butlin says: 'Amateur was just what Turner was not *as an artist*'.

In Burlington House, in canvas after canvas (incidentally extremely sensitively and imaginatively hung, which would have pleased the artist) we see Turner as a professional. He was a professional who had come to have complete mastery of his art and therefore could follow paths and take risks that lesser artists dare not take. It is instructive, for example, to compare his watercolours of Venice with those of Brabazon, for which they could never be mistaken, however similar in format. He remains entirely unique and in most cases overwhelmingly individual.

If, for reasons of cost, insurance, conservation and mobility of important works of art this proves to be the last of the great Royal Academy retrospective exhibitions which can be held on such a scale, it could not have happened, or in a more worthwhile way, to a more suitable subject.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN BRITAIN

by N. A. Webber

PUBLIC libraries, like public lavatories, are social amenities most British people take for granted, only to be missed when required and unavailable as on continental holidays. It is perhaps difficult to imagine that the original case for the institution of public libraries in this country was in part based on an uncomplimentary comparison of libraries in London with those in Paris.

Although rate supported public libraries were to date from 1850 there had been many attempts to provide communal collections of books since the late Reformation. The numerous libraries which had come into existence were doomed to premature morbidity by lack of finance and lack of books. In fact the philosophy of library provision was to provide a room or building and depend on civic or individual munificence to fill it with books. Regardless of reader needs or interests, such collections furnished books for those unable to afford the amenities of subscription libraries. But allowing for the relatively low standards of common literacy the inadequacy of such library provision did not seem a national scandal. Yet by the 1840s the political power of print and an increasing demand for skilled literate manpower seemed to indicate that the provision of books, like basic schooling and cholera-free water all had places in the programmes of social reform. In common with these other reforms the initiative came from a variety of individuals representing widely differing views and background. The House of Commons provided William Ewart, a radical politician who spent his whole life campaigning for measures intended to ease the lot of those battered by the evils of too rapid industrial progress. The working classes provided the prophet and visionary of the movement, Edward Edwards; a self educated compendium of bibliothecal knowledge but clumsy in converting others to his gospel by way of a less than equitable temperament. A far from efficient Austrian officer provided the third man, Antonio Panizzi, for had this revolutionary been caught in his native Parma a noose would have certainly not only ended his life but retarded the history of our own national library. Panizzi escaped and by friends and fate was soon transmuting the British Museum library from a motley collection into a scholar's treasure house and a poor scholar's at that. For in 1836 he declared that the state had a responsibility in providing a library for scholars and such was the man's power that the dome of Bloomsbury was in time to contain a library well administered and carefully provisioned, as much a national institution as the Royal Navy. Such a library could and should only cater for the few but Edwards was to claim that it was the obligation of the state to cater for the many and that libraries supported by the public purse should be provided all over the Kingdom. The projected libraries were to be easily accessible to all men, providing lending and reference services and, unlike the British Museum, open in the evening when working people would want to use them. Ewart had hinted at the utility of public libraries in debates on

education and in 1845 had been the architect of an Act which was to enable the larger towns and cities to establish museums.

Museums could be established at little cost, maintained by a ½d rate and would provide venues of instruction and entertainment for a working class who tended to devote its scant free time to inebriation and by inference excessive copulation. Excepting radical and lurid literature, reading might also provide a socially accepted alternative to these pursuits and if properly directed might lead to greater industrial efficiency and profit. Ideas regarding libraries were generated by many sources in the late 1840s but the main initiative came from Edwards and Ewart when the latter promised to propose that a Select Committee of Enquiry be formed if Edwards could provide a strong documentary case.

Armed with facts, maps and figures, Edwards, in the March of 1849, faced a Select Committee diplomatically chaired by Ewart. Backed by fellow librarians, social reformers and a miscellany of foreign notables, Edwards soon proved to a chauvinistic nation that its libraries were woefully inadequate by European or American standards. Interpreted correctly, Edwards' statistics showed how an inhabitant of Bergamo or Weimar enjoyed a liberal access to reading matter, an amenity denied the citizens of Bristol or Westminster.

Although the intellectual element was paramount, the social advantages of libraries were even greater and by an extension of Ewart's Museum Act could only help to soothe the multiplicity of maladies afflicting the labouring classes, particularly such emotional fevers as had led to the Chartist riots and brought the revolutionary rumblings of 1848 to England.

Although so many other social necessities such as schools, housing and hospitals were probably more urgent, they cost considerable money. Libraries, on the other hand, were cheap, the perfect placebo. The Committee reported enthusiastically in favour and Ewart began to persuade a reluctant House of Commons to enact new legislation. It was proposed that a large town or city, subject to the agreement of its ratepayers, would be allowed to levy a halfpenny rate with which to provide a library building and pay a librarian. There would, of course, be no need to provide books. The public spirited would present these with the same alacrity as they were donating exhibits for Ewart's Museums.

A small body of members supported Ewart. Although a handful of these questioned the absence of book buying powers, the majority were apathetic and a few hostile. Those opposed centred their case on a complaint not unknown among tax and rate payers today—why provide for others what one doesn't want for one's self? More enlightened opposition came from Panizzi and his supporters for he wrongly believed that part of the case for other libraries in London could be construed as criticism of his management of the British Museum.

Since 1837 he had re-structured the Department of Printed Books and introduced reforms which would affect the working of the library up to the present day. Decisive if not deft, he made enemies of both the other keepers and eminent men like Thomas Carlyle. His alien background had provided

the gutter press with a ready target and doubtless for a member of his own staff to be involved seemed a final Judas-like treachery. Edwards perhaps had initially proved a good British Museum man, but his own diary suggests that his heart and efforts rested on providing libraries for all rather than Panizzi's priority of a national library. Although sympathetic to the idea of other libraries, Panizzi was ready to spare no measure in destroying the creditability of Edwards as an authority on the matter. In such an atmosphere of feud and confusion the Select Committee was reformed in 1850 and proceeded to re-examine Edwards with critical harshness and listen to the dictums of Panizzi. Fortunately the case was maintained and in August 1850 a Public Libraries Act became law. Subject to ratepayers' consent, towns with over 10,000 population in England and Wales could levy the halfpenny rate. Five years later this became a penny. Book purchase was permitted and with slight amendment this remained the framework of legislation until 1919.

Progress even within the confines of a penny rate was slow. A handful of authorities decided that a public library might be a useful amenity and experience soon demonstrated that the rate yield was inadequate to maintain a rudimentary service. It was not until the late 1880s that the pace of progress really became noticeable. The Queen's Jubilee was celebrated in many towns by the foundation of a library, the civic minded benefactor seeing his name and memory enshrined forever in a mock temple of the muses. A more significant factor was to be the 1870 Education Act, for fifteen to twenty years later a growing readership of Kipps and Anne Veronicas began to swell the membership rolls.

The early librarians had a sociologist's passion for statistics and in their lengthy annual reports tabulated not only occupations, but age and sex of readers. Thus we can see that in 1890 the 15 to 21 year old age group accounted for the greater part of public library membership. To cater for this new readership came the wave of Carnegie libraries, for after 1897 the fragmented benevolence of the first fifty years was suddenly supplemented by the massive gifts of the Scottish-American millionaire. Thus it was now possible for any town or village ready to accept responsibility for its maintenance to obtain a library building free. Hundreds of Carnegie libraries still exist, now extensively renovated but unsatisfactory for modern needs. The ultimate wisdom of Carnegie's aid is now an academic matter for library historians to debate but by 1912 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust was beginning to wonder if its money had been spent wisely and the libraries sector was subsequently investigated by Professor W. G. S. Adams. The report demonstrated that libraries were still places to put books. The Trust had provided the libraries, but in few cases had the recipient local authorities provided adequate books or staff.

In addition, library service was predominantly an urban amenity. The County Council areas created administratively some thirty years after Ewart's Act were not empowered to provide libraries. Above all, the service was still restrained by the penny rate, the levy from which, unrealistic even in 1855, was ludicrous in the inflationary spiral of the First World War.

There was a need for new legislation and in their separate ways, the Trust and the professional body, the Library Association endeavoured to enlist Parliamentary support. In addition the Trust as an act of faith initiated pilot schemes for county or rural libraries hoping at the end of five years that they would be supported and administered from public funds.

By 1917 most libraries were in desperate financial straits but as the nation fought for its life it could hardly be expected that Parliament would give time or effort to consider their needs. The victory of 1918 brought a plethora of social problems and the government appointed various committees to plan the exhausted nation's physical and mental reconstruction. Adult education figured highly in the scale of priorities as young men flooded back from the battle fronts and an official committee noted that libraries were an essential part of the education process. It was to recommend that libraries be formally integrated into the education structure, that the pilot schemes of the Carnegie Trust be given legal reality and that the rate limit be abolished. The exact details of how the government was persuaded to introduce new legislation are still obscure and we are awaiting a new study of this problem soon to be published. Sufficient that in November 1919 a new act freed the rate limit and gave power to the County Councils to become library authorities. The legislation still remained permissive and it was not until 1964 that another act made the provision of library service mandatory.

The 1920s were a period of consolidation. Slightly more generous budgets allowed librarians to repair their depleted book stocks and to recruit better quality staff, the first Library School having been established at University College, London, and above all to see how the older municipal libraries and the newer county libraries fitted into the national pattern of copyright, academic, special subject and institutional libraries. A highlight of British library service is the reader's access through his local library to books throughout the Kingdom by a network of library cooperation, whereby the resources of widely different libraries can be exploited for the reader's benefit.

The idea of library lending to library went back to the monastic era but the creation of a systematic scheme belongs to the inter-war period. Consequently, although the standards of service still varied enormously, the average reader in 1939, provided he lived in a large town or city, was assured of reasonable lending and reference facilities. In a small town or country area his luck varied. The more progressive authorities had introduced mobile libraries and built permanent branches at strategically placed centres but he might still be faced with foraging through a few boxes of books dumped on the floor of the village school. In 1927 the Board of Education had reviewed the potential and problems of library services and decided in true British fashion to do nothing with the pious hope that the poor authority shamed by its lack of effort would strive to emulate those who obviously cared about the quality of their libraries. Subsequent reports indicated that few authorities felt any such moral obligation to mend their ways and a handful of radicals in the Library Association were already talking of state grants and state inspection.

Such ideas were to be scattered by the effects of September 1939 and public libraries were again made to feel they were not essential to the war effort. Notwithstanding official attitudes, the blackout, shortages and travel restrictions made reading a national pastime with a consequent growing demand on the resources of libraries. Although hampered by lack of books and manpower, the service strove to carry on and convinced many of its worth. The blitz and over zealous salvage drives continued to drain its physical resources, but like the national spirit it was to arise like a Phoenix from ashes and begin planning for better days. In 1942 Lional McColvin, City Librarian of Westminster, surveyed the library scene and produced a blueprint which is still of some significance today. Its essence was the creation of larger administrative units, not tied to arbitrary geographical boundaries, but constituted with the aim of providing realistic finance to translate the idea of an adequate library service into reality. The plan met with much criticism, but thirty years later, conditioned to large economic units in both public and private sectors, we can appreciate McColvin's masterly analysis of the situation. Although it destroyed valuable books and manuscripts, the war emphasised the place libraries could play in the nation's education and recreational activities, for by 1945 many libraries were beginning to mean more than books. They were becoming the cultural centres of their communities. In 1939 culture was still a derisory term to most Englishmen, but by 1945 it had become one of the priceless treasures we had been fighting for.

The next decade was essentially a period of greater professionalism for librarians which would be reflected in a higher quality of reader service. Full time education at an increasing post-graduate level was replacing correspondence courses and evening classes. A British National Bibliography recording the majority of books published in the United Kingdom appeared at last and the mounting importance of technology was acknowledged by plans for a National Library of Science and Invention to complement the humanistic British Museum. For public libraries it was a time of building new functional libraries to replace those destroyed by bombing, new services to cater for those yet unserved and the introduction of new devices such as Telex and photocopy machines which would save labour and bring greater efficiency. Yet basic problems still remained. The provision of a service was not obligatory and when provided there were no basic standards of service that had to be maintained. An authority could do as much or as little as it wished and by whim of geographical boundary a reader could be served by a well stocked and staffed municipal library or a two-nights-a-week temporary branch.

Although there were some good small authority libraries, McColvin's dictum that the larger library meant a better library was substantially true. In the late 1950s a government Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Sidney Roberts was appointed. Its report in 1959 embodied most of the ideas advanced since the 1919 Act had removed the shackles of rate limitation. Public libraries ought to be a mandatory service. There should be standards set for such a service and as with education a government body should be

appointed to advise and insist that standards were maintained. The main proposals of the report were to be embodied in our current public library legislation—the 1964 Act. It is perhaps still too soon to evaluate the effects of this legislation, but certainly many of the weaker authorities have responded by more liberal book budgets and the introduction of a fuller range of services.

As to the large unit idea, this has in part been overshadowed by the national plans for local government reform. New authorities have been created in London and the administrative map of the United Kingdom has been completely re-drawn since April. The effects of such mergers have been mixed. In some cases the concentration of resources and inspired management have led to exciting new developments, particularly in the application of computers to the drudgery of library logistics; in others, personalities and parochialism have wasted opportunities. The role of the conventional book library has been called into question and in some areas it has emerged as a subordinate within a large social amenity and cultural complex. Audio-visual materials now challenge the book as an educational medium and we in library education extend our definitions of bibliography to include film, tape and punched cards.

We seem to have come a long way from Ewart's extensions to local museums and a belief that reading would prove a substitute for gin and beer. It is still possible to find poor libraries, but general standards have improved greatly, particularly the calibre of library staffing. The young man or woman who will come to your aid today has been well trained for the task and will try to ensure that you receive the same high quality of service in your local library as Panizzi aimed to provide for the select few at the British Museum in 1836.

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REVOLUTION, FACT AND FICTION

by Nicholas Roderey

WHEN oppression grows too heavy, it produces revolution, so we believe. The downtrodden multitudes, even the ragged and famished rabble, rise and destroy their oppressors. It is an old fiction, an old delusion. In truth, the revolts of the populace, the uprisings of the masses, never succeed. The starved and enchained lack the strength even for rebellion. The prosperous and productive make revolutions. Progress brings revolution, since economic change demands political change. If the defenders of the old order oppose this, they go down in violence. But only prosperous societies are prone to revolution.

True revolutions destroy a ruling class, and create a new one. If they find much to destroy, they diminish prosperity. The less opposed a revolution the more advantageous it is. Only virtually unopposed revolutions bring added well-being to a society. If they cannot bring prosperity they bring tyranny. The greater the hardship a post-revolutionary society has to suffer, the sterner the dictatorship it has to endure. All revolutions teach that lesson.

The twentieth century has seen more revolutions than any other. Only one succeeded for more than a day, that of Russia. And its price has not yet been paid. Russia would today be richer had it not experienced revolution in October 1917.

The industrial revolution had started in Russia by the middle of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth it was well established. Investment was expanding, factories multiplying, prosperity spreading. A new industrial and commercial class was rising. Political reform was on the way, parliament in being. Society was changing, and so was government. There were many signs of new times. And then, in 1914, war came.

The government lost the war and was ousted. The aspirations and rebellions of half a century came to success. In the spring of 1917 the country slipped into revolution, as if into peace. But the war had devastated too much of Russia. Now, almost by chance, it destroyed the new revolution. Distress and despair produced the accidental red October revolution in the same year.

The victorious communists followed, not the old order of tzars and nobles, but the middle class Kerensky government of 1917. Unlike their forerunners a few months earlier, they needed a civil war to secure their new order. Their revolution thus ravaged the country from the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Black Sea. And the multitude of victims it claimed in maimed and murdered, starved and executed no one can recount.

The revolutionaries then established an idealistic state, and kept it for a day. Before long, the founders themselves were forced to retreat from their hope-filled radicalism, and hide behind Lenin's New Economic Policy of compromise with human nature, with economic self-interest. Presently

other compromisers, under Stalin, his successor, being realists, exterminated the idealists in a series of merciless mass-murders, of countless judicial and underhand killings. The years of terror passed into others of mass starvation, and continued in the heartless persecution of the rich peasants.

The revolution came into collision with human poverty and human nature, and foundered. In poverty men seek security, they want protection, for themselves and their families. They know only one security, that of property. In this they also seek, and often find, liberty. Socialism, in the meaning of common ownership of property, can exist only in a very rich society. In such a society property is not abolished but abandoned as a burden and a trammel. In any other society, including the poorest, the ownership of property signifies little, only its control counts, its management matters.

But scarcity fashioned men, as it did all living things. Insecurity moulded them. In their poverty men will watch over their own concerns, look only after themselves. Some will work creatively, for the world, the few who can do so. The others will work protectively, caring for themselves and their own. Only so, toiling for themselves, will they work industriously and efficiently.

People may forget their own interest, but only for a moment. For a short hour they may burn with enthusiasm, even with idealism. But presently they will return to an unconcerned indolence and inefficiency, as all the communist regimes have found. These are all inefficient and unproductive.

The coerced will labour patiently, whether held by chains or by a system. But they will return poor work, when counted against that of free men, particularly that of ambitious, and even egoistical men. They will show no initiative and no inventiveness.

It offends human nature to be coerced. Force does not produce results, none comparable with reward. And reward is consumption or possessions, the spending of money and the owning of property. Communism could offer none of these. It had only privileges to bestow, and survived by granting material rewards to the privileged. The communists stood out against the inclinations of men, almost against their instincts. They stemmed and thwarted the urge to get, to gain, and often enough to give, even to create. They, and their subjects even more than they, have paid for that condition by poverty and by inefficiency.

The communist countries are the poor of the industrialised world. Russia, with untold riches and resources in its vast territories, is a beggar before America. East Germany has walled off its poverty against the wealth of West Germany. People are poor in the communist sway, their life is dull, their world drab. The rewards of endeavour are few for the subjects of communism, like the prizes in a lottery. They go to very few among the millions who pay for it with their toil and stress.

The workers themselves made the communist system inefficient by their indifference; for the system is unproductive and inefficient, despite its few

achievements, bought for much misery. And these show contributions from many countries, communist and other, even the work of traitors and prisoners, of men misguided and misused.

The revolution was to take all men into a new world, create for them a good life. In the ample space of more than half a century, it failed to keep any of its promises. It failed even to match the inadequate and unjust society of the West. Communism has become a harsh and heartless establishment. It has become a dreaded and destructive dictatorship, a blighting and unbending caste system. It has produced the most regressive governments in the world and the most tyrannical party machines. It has made many lands into prisons, from which people try desperately to flee. Communism today is no more than a dream turned into a nightmare.

People will always dream of a better world and a better society, and many still call that dream communism. They do not know the reality of this communism. Those who do, who live in its shadow, do not know anything else, nor do they know anything that could have come to them, had there been no revolution. There would have been, in those lands, liberal governments, free societies, affluent communities. There would have been more prosperity, and doubtless more variety. There would even have been a dream of a golden age still alive.

Such are the facts of revolution. The fiction is the great hope of an ideal society. This must remain fiction until people change. It cannot become fact without ideal men. But it can become a chance; good men can make it a possibility. The greater their number the nearer do they bring that possibility. The greater their number the smaller the force they need to check the evil, and even the merely human. But the good, being unworldly, always get killed by the practical men. Hence revolutions have failed in the past, and one can only hope and work ceaselessly that, if they come, they may not fail again.

CHINA'S NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN

by Rosemary Foot

WHEN China and Iran established diplomatic relations on 16 August, 1971, the editorial in *Renmin Ribao,* said since World War II, the fewer contacts between the two countries were the 'result of imperialist obstruction and sabotage.' Ironically, their new relationship owes much of its advancement to a common fear of *social*-imperialism which has led China and Iran to a rediscovery of their common historical background and their common tasks for the future. As the Chinese point out, both their peoples were subjected to imperialist ravage in the past and are still confronted with the common tasks of opposing imperialist aggression and safeguarding state sovereignty and national independence.[1] By 1973 their coincidence of interest was even more explicitly defined by Chi Peng-fei at a banquet in Tehran who expressed his sympathy for Iran's unease at the present situation in the Persian Gulf and offered his support to Iran for a policy which opposed outside interference in the Gulf by any big power with hegemonistic and expansionist ambitions.

During the 1950s, China's statements on Iranian policy tended to be a much less vitriolic version of Soviet statements. Support was voiced for Mossadegh's attempts to nationalise the Anglo-Iranian oil company in 1951, but the congratulations went to the 'people of Iran under the leadership of the Tudeh party' whose 'heroic struggles' for national independence and sovereignty were said to have forced the Majlis and government of Iran to pass the necessary legislation. The resistance to the nationalisation policy by Britain and America was seen as part of a larger imperialist plan to subjugate the Middle East and then turn the area into military bases from which to attack the Soviet Union. This was contrasted with Soviet policy towards Iran which was described by China as one of 'fairness' as the Soviet Union had abandoned all the Tsar's unequal treaties.[2]

Although Mossadegh was not popular in China his deposure in a coup in 1953 was unwelcome since General Zahedi, who replaced him, was expected to compromise with the international oil interests and to have let known his intention of accepting American aid given with the primary purpose of bolstering the 'northern tier' countries against Soviet penetration. Iran's commitment to the West was strengthened when she joined the Baghdad Pact in October 1955 but Chinese comment remained restrained, preference being given to themes which warned Iran of likely US subversion and loss of sovereignty in the future, and which gave support for 'Iranian patriots' who objected to closer ties with Western military blocs. In October, the *Renmin Ribao* Commentator described the decision to join the Baghdad Pact as 'dangerous and regrettable' and in 'competition with the spirit of the Asian-African Conference.' China recognised Iran's need to 'pursue a policy of peace and independence to uphold their peace and security' but she had chosen the 'wrong path' since she had become tied to the 'US war chariot' and to a pact which would give America the necessary facilities from which to launch a 'devastating attack' upon the Soviet Union.[3]

Soviet relations with Iran, which had not been easy, showed signs of general improvement from 1955-1958. The Shah was in Moscow in 1955 and general technical aid was offered by the Russians. However, on November 10, 1958, the Shah announced that he was seeking a more explicit defence commitment from America to further safeguard Iran's security as a result of the revolution in Iraq which exposed her Western flank. The Soviet Union and China expected this to lead to the establishment of American bases on Iranian soil, thus talks between Moscow and Tehran were initiated in order to get Iran's signature on a 50 year non-aggression pact in return for Soviet economic aid. Soviet conditions on Iran, that she should leave CENTO (the successor of the Baghdad Pact), that she should not sign the Bilateral defence agreement with the United States and should not agree to the establishment of any bases on her territory, combined with Soviet threats to send troops into Iran as permitted by the Iran-Soviet treaty of 1921, led to the breakdown of talks in February 1959 and on March 12, 1959 the Iranian parliament approved the new defence pact with the Americans.

China's comments on the negotiations with Moscow were sparse, in recognition of stronger Soviet strategic interest in the area, but when Iran signed her agreement with Washington increased publicity and support was given to the Iranian 'People's Party', to Trade Union and Afro-Asian People's Solidarity groups, all of whom visited Peking. On more than one occasion China referred to the breach of Bandung Principles that had taken place as a result of Iran's decision, but direct criticism of the leadership in Iran was always overshadowed by criticism of 'American imperialism' and its subversive activities. In 1961 the Commentator pointed out that Iran 'has become a dark hell of terror today as a result of US imperialist aggression and enslavement.' Since 1953 when American forces overthrew Mossadegh, they 'have penetrated into Iran on a large scale in the political, military and economic fields, thus reducing the country to a virtual United States colony'.[4]

At the time of the U2 incident, the Soviet Union attacked the Shah as a 'despised puppet' and 'oil monopolists' lackey', but behind the scenes diplomatic notes were being exchanged in the search for some kind of a detente. In 1962 Iran stated that she would never agree to the stationing of nuclear missiles on her territory and thus opened the gates for closer ties with the Soviet Union. Brezhnev made a state visit to Tehran in November 1963, transit and border agreements were ratified, economic cooperation agreements and an air agreement was signed. Other joint economic projects were also discussed, many of which have come to fruition over the years. Fortunately, for the Soviet Union, this improvement in the relationship coincided with the beginning of the Shah's 'White Revolution' which was commented upon favourably in Moscow. The Shah visited Moscow again in 1965 and further cemented their economic ties.

From 1962 Soviet policy towards Iran may be said to have helped her adopt a new independent stance in East-West relations, but it was also designed to shore up Moscow's southern borders in the light of the growing

conflict with China. China's relations with Iran were, however, slow to improve. In the autumn of 1963 Iran received offers of barter trade from Peking, but it was not until 1966 that a decree by the Iranian Council of Ministers freed trade between China and Iran. In those early years the exchange of trade was small but in China's favour, until 1970 when Iran enjoyed a small surplus. At that time Iran preferred, still, to trade with Taiwan and to confine her diplomatic contact to the regime there. The Shah had visited Taipei in 1958, and in 1969, following a visit by Iran's foreign minister, a communiqué promising closer cooperation in the future was signed.

In 1965 China demonstrated her awakening interest in friendly state-to-state relations by sending best wishes to the Shah and his Prime Minister whilst Chinese officials flew over Iranian territory. Chou En-lai and Ch'en Yi touched down at Tehran airport in June 1965 to be met by foreign ministry officials, a meeting seemingly arranged with the aid of the Pakistan Chargé d'Affaires. However, so-called pro-Peking Tudeh Party members continued to be sentenced to death in Tehran on charges of subversion, and the suspicion of Peking remained sufficiently high in the Shah's mind to prevent any immediate change of policy.

The first signs of the Shah's reappraisal of policy towards China came in 1969 when, at a press conference, the Shah supported China's membership of the United Nations. In the 1970 vote, Iran abstained on the seating of China, whereas previously she had always voted against. Three possible reasons for this change of policy towards Peking may be advanced, (1) that relations with China could be used to curb the growing political and economic influence of the Soviet Union in Iran and the Gulf states, (2) it may provide Iran with wider markets which would support her 'independent national policy' and (3) it may also diminish Chinese influence with Persian terrorists.

The possibility of extending full diplomatic recognition to China was explored during the visit of Princess Ashraf Pahlavi to Peking in April 1971 and that of Princess Fatemeh Pahlavi in May 1971. Speeches made during these visits, and subsequent ones, have stressed the two countries' common ties and aspirations, the long-standing historical contact and traditional friendship dating back over 2,000 years, the opening of the famous 'silk road', the friendship between Chou En-lai and Ashraf Pahlavi which was generated at Bandung in 1955 and was renewed in 1955 at the second Bandung Celebrations, the similar historical legacy of subjection to foreign aggression and oppression, all of which served to demonstrate the basis of their new found solidarity.

After the establishment of relations, the economic links between the two states were quickly activated. Trade delegations were exchanged, a civil aviation deal was signed on 18 November 1972 and in August an Iranian Petroleum Exploration Group arrived in Peking. In September of that year, the Empress Farah Pahlavi arrived in Peking accompanied by her Prime Minister for a 10 day State Visit, where she was met by a 'rousing welcome from tens of thousands of people'. In 1973 visits of leading officials from

Iranian public life continued, cultural, sports and economic delegations continued to be exchanged. A Trade and Payments Agreement was signed in Peking on 8th April. One new facet of their relationship in 1973 was shown by the brief stop-over at Tehran airport of a Chinese military delegation, on its way to Albania.

China's decision to try and improve her relations with Iran may partly be explained with reference to her efforts to establish a broad united-front of countries allied with her against her principal enemy, the Soviet Union. To demonstrate that this united-front is in existence and operating, she publicised some Iranina newspapers which express dislike of Soviet policy in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and which give examples of Soviet economic exploitation in Iran. She also emphasises the new closeness in Iranian relations with, in particular, Pakistan, a long-time ally of China and a country, even after dismemberment, which represents a vital break in an arc of otherwise hostile powers surrounding China. For example, the Tehran newspaper Ettela'at which compared present Soviet policy in the Indian Ocean with that of Peter the Great's, 'who called on his successors to use every opportunity to obtain access to the ocean', was quoted by the New China News Agency,[5] and in May 1973 China reported on the Tehran talks between Bhutto and the Shah which led to a declaration of mutual support in all matters bearing on their 'national independence and territorial integrity'.[6]

It is not only Peking that fears encirclement by the Soviet Union, but also Tehran. Soviet treaties signed with India and Iraq in August 1971 and April 1972 respectively, threatened Iranian interests on two fronts. First they strengthened the Soviets' ability to fill the vacuum in the Gulf by sponsoring Iraqi claims in return for economic and base facilities, and by expanding Russia's influence in the Indian Ocean, the Iranians feel concern about an area which traditionally they regard as an extension of the Persian Gulf. The probable consequences of the Iraqi-Soviet pact have been amply demonstrated by the recent renewed fighting and hostilities between Iran and Iraqi troops in February and March of this year.

In Afghanistan, the coup there in July 1973 which returned the Soviet-oriented Muhammed Daud Khan to power arouses fear in Iran as well as in Pakistan, of renewed support by Afghanistan for the Baluchistan rebels who are demanding national independence. The claim for the independent state of 'Pushtoonistan', which may comprise Pakistan's North West Frontier province and Baluchistan has from time to time been supported by the Soviet Union, in general, because of her poor relationship with Pakistan, and represents a policy which Daud is particularly identified with. Support for the Baluchis in Pakistan could lead to rebellion amongst the Baluchi tribesmen in Iran who live in a province bordering the Gulf of Oman—thus the Shah's support for Pakistan's territorial integrity and the general strengthening of his country's ties with the RCD.

China and Iran's coincidence of interest is therefore considerable. Both are dismayed at the extension of Soviet influence from the Gulf to the Indian Ocean, both fear further dismemberment of Pakistan. Old annex-

ationist fears generated by Soviet policies at the end of the Second World War have also been aroused in Iran, since the establishment of a Baluchi liberation front in Baghdad, almost certainly armed by the Soviet Union. Given the strategic position of the Baluchis in Iran, the pressures on her to defend her sovereignty are enormous and account for the Shah's visit to Washington in August 1973 to buy US fighter bombers to counter the new type Soviet MiGs—a decision which the Chinese eemingly approved of.

China's relationship with Iran has therefore acquired an urgency through, what may well be seen in Tehran and Peking to be, the establishment of an Afghani-Indian-Iraqi axis with Soviet backing. Some attempt may be made to counter this with a Chinese-Pakistan-Iranian alliance. In the 1950s, it seemed that for China the northern tier of countries, as they had traditionally been, were of far greater strategic significance to the Soviet Union than they were to China who only recognised a real need to build relations in the area with the onset of Sino-Soviet rivalry. With the advent of outright hostility between Peking and Moscow, China sought to accelerate her friendship with the countries in the region by alluding to their common historical background and common contemporary problems. Future Chinese-Iranian relations could possibly become as close as Sino-Pakistan ties are now and China may come to be thankful for the posture she adopted, which was more one of sorrow than of anger towards Iran in the days of the Dulles military alliances.

NOTES

[1] New China News Agency, 19 August 1971.
[2] BBC World Monitoring Reports, Far East, 29 July 1951.
[3] *Survey of China Mainland Press*, no. 1152, 15 October 1955.
[4] *Survey of China Mainland Press*, no. 2501, 16 May 1961.
[5] *op. cit.* 12 February 1974.
[6] *Peking Review*, no. 21, 25 May 1973.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

AN OBSERVER OF GENIUS

The Political Essays: Collected Works of Walter Bagehot. Vols. V-VIII. Edited by Norman St. John-Stevas. The Economist. £25.

G. M. Young called him 'the greatest Victorian', and if this seems too high praise for the contemporary of Newman, Darwin and Dickens, the sheer variety of Bagehot's gifts compels admiration. His life-long friend R. H. Hutton spoke truly of his 'double vein': that is, 'his sympathy with the works of high imagination' such as the poems of his admired Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold, and 'his clear insight' into the 'busy life' of business and politics. 'Bagehot could not be claimed as a political theorist of the first rank', admits Norman St. John-Stevas here, 'but he was an observer of genius who penetrated below the surface appearances of political and parliamentary life to the psychological and social realities beneath'. It is typical of his wide range—itself typical of the age which produced Carlyle, Ruskin, Disraeli, George Eliot—that one of his principal works should be entitled *Physics and Politics,* in which he anticipated Winwood Reade in applying the theory of natural selection to the evolution of nations and governments.

That seminal essay—'that golden little book' as William James called it—which was originally published in the *Fortnightly* between 1867 and 1872, opens Volume VII in this magnificent edition, an edition first inspired by Geoffrey Crowther and which is a credit to the editor and all concerned. Volume V opens with Bagehot's most celebrated work, *The English Constitution* (1867), written, he tells us, for 'such a being as man in such a world as the present', an intention which has not prevented it from being the most frequently reprinted of his writings (most recently in 1963) and from being 'required reading' for successive Princes of Wales. The introductory essay by the editor, 'The Political Genius of Walter Bagehot', could hardly be bettered and puts the name of Norman St. John-Stevas among the select group who have contributed substantially to the subject.

The remainder of these volumes, together with Volumes VI and VIII, comprise Bagehot's political contributions to the *Economist,* the *Saturday Review,* the *National Review,* the *Fortnightly* and other journals, no less than 250 essays and articles being attributed to Bagehot for the first time. These contributions are grouped under convenient headings like 'The Monarchy', 'The House of Commons', 'The Civil Service', 'Parliamentary Reform' and 'The Press'. Previous volumes, published 1966-68, have given us Bagehot's literary and historical essays, and we are promised in due course three volumes on economic affairs and a final volume of letters and miscellanies.

'A labour of love', the editor assures us, but these modest words should not be allowed to lessen his achievement. This is an edition which does Bagehot full justice, an edition which by its skilful editing presents him to the twentieth-century reader with every convenience that our lazier age demands. If we cannot read *this* Bagehot, so clearly presented and so admirably introduced, then the fault lies in us, not in Mr. St. John-Stevas.

But why should anyone want to read Bagehot? After all, times have changed since he edited the *Economist,* wrote *The English Constitution,* and stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. What has Bagehot to say to us now that Mr.

Gladstone has at last retired, now that the 'great Asian mystery' of Mr. Disraeli has been resolved? What has Bagehot to offer the twentieth-century reader that other Victorian political commentators have not?

Part of the answer has already been given. Bagehot commanded a much wider range than most of his competitors, even in that wide-ranging age. He commanded, too, an urbane, witty, commonsense style that is as attractive now as it must have been a hundred years ago. A conservative Liberal or a liberal Conservative—'between sizes in politics' to use his own phrase—he looked around him with a seemingly child-like, innocent eye and saw strange, almost incredible institutions called (unless he was very much mistaken) the Monarchy, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Civil Service, the Church of England. They were there—and the fact that they were there was not the least part of their importance. They would *not* have been there had they served no useful purpose. Like a keen chess-player, he examined the various pieces on this made-in-England board. 'The use of the Queen', he reflected, 'is incalculable'. But she had her permitted moves, as had the Bishops—see 'The Church' (Volume VII)—and while reform is acceptable to the genius of the English people, violent revolution (since the seventeenth century) is not and had better be left to the more volatile genius of the French.

Some of the titles in these volumes have a curiously modern ring. 'Why Have We So Few Statesmen in the House of Commons?' he inquired in 1861; 'Presidential and Ministerial Governments Compared', he wrote in 1862—as he might have done in 1962. 'The Necessary Consequences of Government by a Minority'—that comes uncomfortably close, as do 'Newspapers as Property', 'The Effect of Trades Unions on Prices and Wages', 'The Contest in Ireland' and perhaps 'The Refusal of Congress to Impeach President Johnson'. One subject no longer concerns us: 'The New Title of the Queen' (*Economist*, 18 March, 1876). Bagehot was no Imperialist and disliked the 'Dizzy heights', so to speak, to which Queen Victoria was elevated when she became Empress of India after an acrimonious debate in the House of Commons.

R. C. CHURCHILL

AMERICANS AND THE BUGBEAR OF SLAVERY

Time on the Cross. The Economics of American Negro Slavery. Vol. I. *Time on the Cross. Evidence and Methods. A Supplement*. Vol. II. Robert William Fogel & Stanley L. Engerman. Wildwood House. £4.25 (Vol. I), £5.50 (Vol. II).

One of the more fascinating aspects of life in the United States is the fervour with which Americans wash their dirty linen in public. It has become the accepted pastime of American intellectuals to bemoan their country's evil deeds concerning the indigenous Indians, the Mexicans ousted from Texas or the negro. England has South Africa and, for the more sensitive, Ireland; America has its Southern States whose continued existence allows intellectuals a convenient public wash-house to do their work. Americans have traditionally felt a moral imperative to make sure that all is 'right' with America and with her history. That which cannot be forgotten is rewritten. The authors are true to their upbringing.

The somewhat emotive title of this volume informs the reader from the beginning that the writers approach their topic with an evangelistic passion to set things right. They want to 'prove' that the negro American *qua* negro is not 'inferior'. The way to do this is, somewhat ironically, to show that Southern slavery before the Southern War for Independence (1861-1865) was profitable chiefly because the negro slave was not stupid, inferior or lazy. Rather, he was

hard-working, as intelligent as other men and as responsible. If the book achieves nothing else, it does show that the South was not a poor, dreary region of despotism and iniquity as the winners of the 1861-1865 war would have the world believe. Rather, it was a growing, prosperous and confident region which made the best of an historic situation which had largely disappeared in the rest of the Union. Slaves were on the whole not ill-treated but well treated with a home life and culture uniquely their own. They are shown to have been far better off before 1861 than they were after 1865 when the spurious freedom promised by the abolitionists was bestowed.

There are, however, serious difficulties with regard to the book. It claims to be a discussion of 'Negro Slavery' whereas in fact it is limited to plantation and urban slavery. To the general reader, therefore, unfamiliar with recent scholarly work, it might seem to support the traditional 'Gone With the Wind' view of the South. This view, which continues to have an amazing hold on the popular mind, sees the South as a tropical land filled with haughty aristocrats living in grand mansions on vast plantations where hundreds of slaves labour in the cotton fields. Historians have known for some time that this was not the case. Plantations, that is large, industrialised cotton or tobacco farms, were the exceptions not the rule. The majority of Southerners did not own slaves: this is as true of the farmers as of the urban dwellers. Those who did own slaves owned a small number, perhaps one family or two, not vast hordes. Like the factories of the West Riding plantations were economically of great importance but they were still the exception.

This leads one to the first major criticism of the work. The writers do not pay sufficient importance to the distribution of slaves in the South. They do include in their second volume of evidence, a chart which shows that in 1860, only 10% of all slaveholders had over 100 slaves, that only 24.9% had over 50 slaves whilst 47.2% had under 20. The book is concerned, basically, with the 25% who held over 50 slaves for the simple reason that it was the large plantation owners who left the most evidence. The small farmer, who grew some cotton 'on the side' and, if he had any slaves at all, had few with whom he worked in the fields, left few if any records. Economically, of course, they were not as important as the large farmer. Cotton could only be grown profitably in a cheap market by using industrialised methods, as capitalists in England were discovering. In the South, the only industrialised method available (and the only one necessary) was a large farm with a large and easily regulated work-force. Cheap land made the former possible and the existence of slavery made the latter obvious. It is not surprising that the more enterprising farmer should become, in time, the 'plantation owner'. This did not alter the fact that plantations and slave-owning remained the exception, not the rule, if one is attempting a discussion of slavery as a whole. A better title for the book would have been *The Economics of American Plantation Slavery*.

A second criticism is the manner in which the book is presented. Normally scholars write a book to present their findings to the public. They produce the evidence on which the case is built and explain the techniques used, often in the foot-notes so disliked by publishers today. The writers, however, have chosen to put their evidence and techniques in a separate volume which makes it very difficult to see always how the evidence and techniques result in the conclusion presented. The economic theories and equations will prove unintelligible to the average reader and one wonders if a less 'grand' but more easily understood method might not have been better. Whilst the writers are economists, not historians, they are still dealing with a situation which is, if anything, more

historic than economic. When one turns to the supplementary volume for the evidence behind a grand assertion only to find a complicated mathematic equation, one is surely right to ask for a simpler presentation.

The third and most pressing criticism is that one feels justified in wondering if the evidence (which one cannot always discover) always justifies the conclusions. The passion and fervour of the writers are perhaps praise-worthy, but one does sometimes feel that one is being offered propaganda for a foregone conclusion. The writers dismiss most work done in the past because it was either based on prejudices or beliefs which they do not hold or was based on evidence which to them is insufficient. Yet in future years might their assumptions not prove to be prejudices and their evidence, insufficient? One seems justified in asking such a question due to the tremendous confidence with which conclusions and interpretations are presented.

A final criticism is that the bibliography omits many works, especially articles by historians such as those by Govan or Owsley (who contributed a valuable article in 1938). There are the occasional grammatical mistakes and a verbosity which can call a decline a 'downward trend' and slavery, 'unfortunate sociological circumstance'.

Having said this one must still recommend the book as a valuable hand-book to the problem. Any reader can safely disregard the second volume unless he, too, is a mathematician. The first volume does present in a popular vein the results of considerable work which shows that plantation-farming and the cotton it produced made America's position in the world's economy tenable. It also shows the tremendous importance of the South to the federal union and finally, it shows that Southerners were, after all, only human beings.

J. E. B. MUNSON

FOREMOST SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER

R. H. Tawney and His Times—Socialism as Fellowship. Ross Terrill. Andre Deutsch. £3.95.

It has fallen to an American, Ross Terrill of Harvard, to write this first-class portrait of our foremost social philosopher. Quite obviously he has drained most of the sources and consulted most of the people who know Tawney. The bibliography of Tawney's published writings numbers 572, including books, pamphlets, prefaces, articles, book reviews and leaders in the *Manchester Guardian*—for the most part unsigned.

Perhaps, as they say in the House of Commons, I should first declare my personal interest in the subject of the book. Tawney was my tutor at Oxford; he supervised my first book, *Social Progress and Educational Waste,* at the London School of Economics (1926) and wrote the preface, actually signed by Lord Haldane. His most famous book, *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society,* deeply affected my generation and most notably Hugh Gaitskell. But his most scholarly book, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* published in 1926, translated into almost every language, established Tawney as the foremost economic historian of his time. He was thus acknowledged as a leading British historian of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but also as a noted social philosopher of the twentieth century crisis.

What sort of a man was Tawney? Born in Calcutta in 1880, where his father was a Sanskrit scholar, he proceeded to Rugby and Balliol, married a sister of Sir William Beveridge, and was a life-long friend of William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury. He went to live at Toynbee Hall and his experience in East London and later in the Potteries, Staffordshire, gave him the spring-

board for his life's work. He not only created, via Albert Mansbridge, the Workers Educational Association, but later became its president for over twenty years. He left social work for teaching and after a period at Glasgow University, he became the scholar-saint at the London School of Economics and a legend.

In the First World War he fought as a sergeant and in the Second World War he was Labour Adviser at the British Embassy in Washington, fortified by many previous visits to the United States. He never quite understood America, but he made some prophetic statements about China, where he contributed a vast analysis of their agricultural problems in two learned books. He gave the Burge Memorial lecture on the *Western Political Tradition* in 1949.

The secret of Tawney's life and influence was that he refused to be put in any category or group. He was neither a pacifist nor a Marxist nor was he a typical Fabian. Perhaps he was the last of the Christian socialists. His life, more than his brilliant writings, compelled his contemporaries to listen to his words of wisdom, because to those of us who knew him he was utterly selfless. Mr. Ross Terrill has given the reader an admirable survey of Tawney's contribution to political science and education which deserves a much closer analysis; why, for example, he differed from Laski and the Webbs, why he was remote from the Bloomsbury Group, although he lived in Mecklenburgh Square, where some of us spent memorable evenings.

In 1933 he was offered by the Prime Minister a peerage and his reply was: 'Thank you for your letter. What harm have I ever done to the Labour Party? Yours sincerely, R. H. Tawney.'

KENNETH LINDSAY

THE MAKING OF A PSYCHIATRIST

The Making of a Psychiatrist. David S. Viscott. Allison & Busby. £3.95.

All psychiatric personnel worth their salt will have wished, even attempted, to translate into narrative form the rich, human, dramatic material which streams endlessly, wastefully, through clinics and wards to lose itself in the air, in case-notes, and in a tempting but tangled mass in the observers' minds. This is precisely the book which Dr. Viscott has constructed so fluently and vividly, and this is the aspect which will be enjoyed and valued more than the projected 'revelatory' content concerning a young psychiatrist's progress and training, both formally, and through contact with colleagues and patients. The result is as interesting and often as funny as James Herriot's 'Vet' books. The British reader may be surprised to discover how familiar the American psychiatric territory is—the chronic back-wards, the symptoms and verbalisations of the acute patients, even the detailed discussions of the psychiatrists. He may, or may not, be surprised to be presented with the whole packaged in the obligatory slick American prose which carries along carpetbagging novels and studies of the City of God alike.

The serious content reveals Dr. Viscott's humanity, compassion and verve, and his drive to heal and to change what he sees to be wrong. Although, as he admits, especially in his earliest career, he is perhaps over-eager to please and to be liked, as he learns more and becomes more sure of his ground, he shows increasingly a tendency to confront and question authority. Although no doubt most of his strictures against the excessive use of electro-convulsive therapy, poor handling of the youth-service, appallingly bad 'specialists', and so on, are true enough, the last chapters are a little shrill. It is much less rewarding to read

how Dr. Viscott questioned a judge's decision, or terminated his own personal analysis than to follow right through the book his lovingly-described, long and successful therapy with, say, 'Roberta Goldman' who always thought she 'needed another person to make me be myself. No one can do that. I have to do it all by myself. . . . At least now I don't need to spend my life always being afraid I'm going to lose someone'.

It is not really unexpected that Dr. Piscott ends up more happily in private practice, nor are we startled—it comes almost as an explanation—to learn that he begins to experiment with writing and to specialise in psychotherapy with creative people—'I felt more at home creating a world on paper than anything else. I had found a microcosm which I could always control and a world I could create in my own image'. The comment on all this by his rejected analyst, 'Dr. Frost' may be, 'You always did have your finger in a lot of different pies', but Dr. Viscott is no conventional psychiatrist, and that is exactly why this book has come to be written.

MOLLY TIBBS

'HARRY THE HORSE'

Harry, Lord Rosebery. Kenneth Young. Hodder & Stoughton. £2.95.

Few lordlings could have had a less propitious birth than the sixth Earl of Rosebery. His father, the Liberal Prime Minister, wrote when congratulated upon the new arrival that he could not be much excited about 'an event which may cause me a good deal of annoyance'. All his life, Mr. Young states, he treated his heir slightingly, and once, when the butler offered cigars at lunch, ordered none to be given to him, saying, 'I give you a big enough allowance for you to buy your own'. His mother, née Hannah Rothschild, died when he was eight.

But he weathered these handicaps to become Grenadier Guards officer and aide to Allenby in the 1914 war. As leading racehorse owner he won many classics including the 1939 Derby with a homebred colt, Blue Peter; was Master of the Whaddon, Steward of the Jockey Club and National Hunt Committee, known to some as 'Harry the Horse' for his turf obsession. A deft cricketer, he captained Surrey 1904-7. In politics he was an active Liberal. In World War II he served as Regional Commissioner for Scotland. His first marriage, to Lord Henry Grosvenor's daughter, was celebrated at a Belgrave Square reception so magnificent that a reporter declared it looked as though 'a volcanic eruption had taken place in Aladdin's cave and all the wonder of it had been thrown to the earth'. It didn't last; but his second, to Eva, Lord Aberdare's daughter, was happier.

Mr. Young grapples manfully, if sometimes sketchily, with these and other aspects of a varied life, and even finds room for anecdotal asides that reveal the man. When Lord Beaverbrook wanted Dalmeny House on the Firth of Forth photographed for his papers in wartime, Rosebery replied that it was 'rather a secret area where nothing is known except to the Germans'. Sir Will Darling, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1941-4, told him that in the event of invasion and the transfer of regional government to Glasgow, it would be his duty to remain behind. 'Ha', said Rosebery, 'you want to be a real *gauleiter*, do you?' Speaking at a tyre-economy exhibition in Darling's presence, he observed: 'I notice that Sir Will Darling boasts he has never driven a car. I don't know if that is in order to preserve tyres or his neck or the citizens generally'. Asked how he fared when bombs fell close to Dalmeny, he said, 'I didn't notice much, but

I'm afraid it's shaken up my port quite a lot'. As Minister of Agriculture, Rob—later Viscount—Hudson of the soap family, shouted at Rosebery across a House of Lords corridor: 'You *must* get rid of that land agent; I've told you before.' 'Why, you whipper-snapper', Rosebery retorted. 'I will inform you that my family was farming when yours were blowing bubbles.'

In a Foreword, Clive Graham calls him 'one of the last Corinthians', and as such Young portrays him, packing the book with Turf lore that will delight racing enthusiasts. 'Harry the Horse' dominates an engaging all-round narrative, frank and discreet by turns.

TREVOR ALLEN

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Parliamentary Scrutiny of Government Bills (George Allen & Unwin. £6.75). In this valuable study, co-sponsored by Political and Economic Planning and the Study of Parliament Group, Professor J. A. G. Griffith, Professor of Public Law at London University, is concerned primarily with the practical influence of M.P.s upon the passage of government legislation through the House of Commons, in which, of course, they are theoretically dominant. Professor Griffith provides an analysis of the parliamentary process, in particular the second reading, committee and report stages. In relation to each he examines in some detail the impact of M.P.s upon government bills during three sessions, namely 1967-68 and 1968-69 when Labour was in office and 1970-71 after the Conservatives were returned in the 1970 General Election. In all three sessions the government had an effective overall majority. Professor Griffith concludes that despite government power and control, 'the impact of Parliament on Government bills is by no means negligible'. He finds, for example, that during these sessions 'eleven bills, all of importance, were markedly affected by their passage through the House of Commons'. Nonetheless, Professor Griffith would clearly and rightly wish to see greater scrutiny, based upon access to departmental information. He quite properly attacks 'the excessive secrecy of governments . . . founded on a fear of effective criticism'. He proposes that, when published, government bills should be accompanied by the detailed background information giving rise to the need for each clause, and also that major bills should be referred to a Select Committee which could examine ministers and civil servants and call for documents. The ability of an administration to resist scrutiny derives largely from its overall majority control through an obedient parliamentary party. It would be particularly useful to study parliamentary scrutiny with a minority government in office, as in the Labour government of February - October 1974. Minority groups have increased and are likely to continue for a long while in the House, exercising votes and influence which a government cannot ignore. Professor Griffith should extend his study to cover the 1974 administration in his next edition. He touches quite briefly on the part played by the House of Lords in the legislative process.

Document on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939. First Series. Volume XIX (H.M. Stationery Office. £13.80). This new volume deals with *The Conferences at Cannes, Genoa and The Hague, 1922* and has been pre-

pared under the editorship of Professor Douglas Dakin. It contains the Minutes of the Conferences of Cannes (January 4-13) and Genoa (April 9-May 19) with related documents and despatches, following the documentation in Volume XV. It also includes a documentation relating to The Hague Conference (May 23-July 21). Their main unity is that they were all concerned with Soviet Russia, not then recognised formally and seeking economic aid from the West. Mr. Lloyd-George took over much of the negotiations personally to the irritation and disapproval of the Foreign Office. As in the other volumes, the Editor has had 'unrestricted access to all the papers in the Foreign Office archives'.

Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City (Croom Helm. £6.95). Hugh McLeod, Lecturer in Church History in the University of Birmingham, has contributed a valuable addition to our literature on Victorian religious life. He has centred his study on London in the period *ca.*1880-1914, and has utilised hitherto unused sources such as the papers of Charles Booth and various diocesan Visitation records. The criticisms of the book are that it sometimes tends to dogmatism without sufficient evidence and that it places too great an importance on sociological theory as a sufficient explanation for historical problems. One dogmatic statement is that 'simple faith cannot flourish' when 'a variety of opinions are freely canvassed'. Why cannot it do so? Some would argue that faith is simple by nature at all times, although the intellectual forms used to describe it may not be. Sociological theory and its attendant jargon inform the reader that upper-class bachelors by the end of the century needed to 'prove their manliness' (although one finds it difficult to apply this to Lord Hugh Cecil or Arthur Balfour). Again, a sociologist is cited to prove that child-bearing is more demanding of the mother than of the father. The study remains valuable, however, despite what is to some a sociological flavour. If it does not throw any new light on our understanding of Victorian urban religious life, it does help to clarify our existing knowledge. Despite the occasional jargon and periphrases, the style is easy to follow, tolerably well written and based on a sympathetic attitude throughout.

Yom Kippur Plus 100 Days (Hart Publishing Co. Inc. New York. $20). This large volume is designed by Mr. Harold Hart to show 'the human side of the war and its aftermath as shown through the columns of *The Jerusalem Post*'. It thus contains a large selection of newspaper extracts and photographs which reflect the struggle and emotional experiences of the Israeli people during the 17 days of war, 6th-23rd October, 1973 and 100 days thereafter. They are accompanied by an extensive commentary by Mr. Hart, and followed by a moving lecture delivered in America by Mr. Elie Wessell in December 1973. The book makes impressive reading, but is entirely subjective in approach and inevitably ignores the Arab case.

Augustus John: Autobiography (Jonathan Cape. £6.50). This volume brings together for the first time Augustus John's two ventures in autobiography. The first, *Chiascuro,* was published in 1952 and *Finishing Touches* in 1964, three years after his death. In his short Introduction, Mr. Michael Holroyd describes how, after delays, they came to be written and eventually published. They are in effect collections of reminiscences and anecdotes without reference to chronological sequence. They certainly make enjoyable reading, but there is no discussion of his work as an artist.

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RACE RELATIONS: CLUBS CONCERN US ALL

by Sir Geoffrey Wilson

ON October 16 last, the Law Lords announced, for the second time within 19 months, that they were overruling the Court of Appeal and declaring legal colour bars in clubs, including Britain's 4,000-odd working men's clubs, which have a collective membership of some three-and-a-half million. The Working Men's Club and Institute Union immediately greeted the decision as 'a triumph for our status as private places'.

Three days after the decision was announced, a national newspaper carried, as its leading letter, a reader's contribution headed: *Race Act creates Bitterness*. The letter made no direct mention of the case, but it pulled no punches in its attack on the Race Relations Board. Its writer even went so far as to claim that coloured immigrants, because of our 'unhealthy over-concern', were becoming a 'privileged class'.

Both the Club and Institute's attitude and the reader's letter illustrate widespread, if very different, misconceptions about the Board and the Race Relations Act of 1968 with which it is our statutory duty to secure compliance. Were it not for such misconceptions, it is safe to say that the work of the Board would be very much less difficult, delicate, and at times even frustrating, than it is today. The already celebrated case of the Dockers' Labour Club in Preston, which led to the latest Lords' judgement, is very much a case in point.

Since many of the clubs affiliated to the C.I.U. have 'membership running into thousands' and 'a turnover in intoxicating liquor exceeding that of large public houses',[1] one may legitimately be surprised at their Lordships' opinion as to what constitutes a private place. Eyebrows may be raised even further when it is realised that concentration on clubs' status as 'private places', and hence 'not a section of the public', obscured a vital point. Even if their Lordships were right to apply this test in deciding whether a club could operate a colour bar, a decision that they could *not* do so would still not have taken away their right to select members on individual merit, rejecting those who did not come up to standard. It was not 'private status' that was under attack: all that was at risk was their right to operate a blanket exclusion on grounds of colour.

A reporter for *The Observer*, exploring the background to the Preston case in the immediate aftermath of the decision, wrote:

> A straw poll among the customers as they arrived at the club after their shifts on the docks produced only a handful who supported the club's colour bar. Yet for years the club has been fighting its case in the courts, apparently with the support of the members. The fact is that what the Race Relations Board was up against in the end was not so much colour prejudice as class pride.

Perhaps, so long as the stress is laid strictly on the phrase 'in the end', the point may have been a valid one in this particular case. Unfortunately, however, it does tend to draw attention away from the reality of racial discrimination as it is practised all over this country and at all levels of society. It also avoids the principal social impact of the Preston decision and of the similar Lords decision which preceded it, in February 1973, in the Charter case.[2]

Both these cases have tended to be commented upon in such a way as to suggest that although they raised matters of general public principle, their effect was confined to certain sections of society. This tendency has doubtless even been reinforced by the fact that the majority of members' clubs about which the Board has received complaints have still to date been working men's clubs—a fact scarcely surprising since it is to such clubs, catering for industrial workers, that most coloured immigrants will still turn for recreation. Yet the effect of the Lords' decisions is profound, and reaches into social circles far removed from those of the working men's clubs.

Members' clubs—that is those which could qualify for the Law Lords' crucial definition of having a genuine selection procedure operated by the members—are an integral part of the fabric of Britain's life. According to the Erroll Report[3], the total number of such clubs licensed to sell intoxicating liquor and registered under the 1964 Licensing Act was 23,985 in 1971, and increasing at a rate of some 300-400 a year. Of these, a mere 4,000 or so were of the type affiliated to the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Others cover sports, pastimes, and normal social activities of such a wide range that one can safely suggest that at least one or two members of any ordinary family would wish to be a member for some part of his or her lifetime. The question which must be posed against the law as it now stands is: at what point does something become a matter of overall public interest? One has no hesitation in supplying the answer that it certainly does so when a sufficient number of people are involved, and in the case of members' clubs that number runs into millions.

Without attempting to go into the technical arguments for and against their Lordships' judgements it is also perhaps worth re-emphasising that in these two cases, nine of the most senior and experienced judges in the land sought to discover the meaning of 'a section of the public' in an Act of Parliament and so to find whether a political club having 400 members and a working men's club having a potential membership of thousands could legally discriminate against coloured persons. Four of the nine thought they could; five thought they could not. In other words, as John Griffith has pointed out in the *New Statesman*, a majority of one took the traditional conservative view and regarded racial discrimination as a *private right* of the individual. A minority of one, while recognising that the Act clearly means to avoid intervention in the domestic sphere and in other private

gatherings (certainly including some clubs) saw racial discrimination for what in my view it clearly is—an intolerable *social wrong*. This close division of opinion seems to demonstrate that at the very least there was considerable doubt about what the law meant.

The whole question of clubs is, of course, only one of many respects in which the 1968 Race Relations Act has proved to be unsatisfactory, and it is by now well known that we would welcome changes. In particular, we need greater powers and discretion for the Board, largely along the lines of those now proposed for the Equal Opportunities Commission dealing with equality for women. Happily, this case has now been accepted by the Government; the Home Secretary has stated it as his intention to 'harmonise' legislative powers in the race relations field with those designed to prevent discrimination on the grounds of sex.

We are also encouraged by the prospect of a reform of the law on immigration. Since the Board's responsibilities do not in any way impinge on immigration control, it may well be asked why this should concern us. The answer lies in one word: credibility. In our last annual report[4] we stated that there existed 'among coloured minority groups a general lack of confidence in public determination to root out discrimination and in the willingness of society as a whole to accept them as equal'. We also stressed that the reasons for this lack of confidence were complex and deep-seated, and that they were often described in terms of the day-to-day treatment received by coloured people, or the fear of appearing in any way aggressive, lest that should jeopardise even the limited degree of acceptance that had already been achieved. But we went on to point out that in addition, and of the utmost importance, was 'the feeling that while official policy asserts the two objectives, meant to be complementary, of tight immigration control and equality of treatment once in Britain, the emphasis that has been placed on the former has led to scepticism about the latter objective. Rightly or wrongly, the immigration controls are seen as discriminatory against coloured people both in intent and in effect'.

Since those words first appeared, the Home Secretary has declared that our nationality and citizenship laws must be re-shaped, and that this complex task is being tackled. Once it has been clearly laid down who is entitled to our citizenship, there is good reason to hope that our immigration policy will be re-shaped, in Mr. Jenkins' own words, 'on a rational and manifestly non-racial basis'.

There remain, however, considerable obstacles to progress, even with reform of the law in sight. Firstly there is the problem of simple misunderstandings. There are undoubtedly a great number of otherwise well-informed citizens who are unaware, say, that the 1968 Race Relations Act does not cover religion, nationality disputes between neighbours, decisions of the courts or tribunals, or complaints about the police in the performance of their duties. Nor, with one exception—nationality—have we asked that it should. More serious is the special case of incitement to racial hatred or violence. This remains an offence under an earlier Race Relations Act[5] and its enforcement lies solely with the policy and the Attorney General, not the

Board. The use, or lack of use, of this part of the law arouses strong feelings; yet whatever the rights and wrongs of the situation, the Board itself has no power to influence it, while many people think it has, and thus its credibility suffers.

What the Board does deal with is unfair discrimination in housing, employment, the provision of a wide range of goods, facilities and services, and discriminatory advertisements and notices. It is in this wide field that two of the most widespread and damaging misconceptions prevail. First, there is the persistent illusion—deliberately fostered in some quarters—that the Act confers special privileges upon members of the minorities. Of course, it does nothing of the kind: what it does is merely to insist upon equal treatment of people who are otherwise equal except for the colour of their skin—in three words, equality of opportunity. Secondly, there is the fear—likewise fostered by some—that the Race Relations Board, particularly in connection with its request for greater powers, is, or is likely to become, a kind of all-pervading governmental 'snooping agent'. Those who propagate this view conveniently forget, say, the Factories Act and similar laws requiring inspectorates, which can more often than not secure compliance with the law more by prevention and agreement than by dealing with individual breaches.

A more fundamental misconception, of a different order, is one which perhaps no longer applies, but the one which weakened the 1968 Act—namely that racial discrimination manifested itself chiefly in individual, separable and deliberate acts by identifiable people. In the all-important employment field, we have found increasingly that discrimination needs to be seen primarily not so much in terms of active discrimination against individuals—though there is still plenty of that—but in terms of the continuing acceptance or toleration, consciously or unconsciously, of situations in which people are being deprived of equal opportunities, about which they may or may not be aware, about which they may or may not be discontented, but about which they do not protest or complain. They adjust to the discrimination involved, adjust to unequal opportunities and thereby do not put themselves in a position to be actively or unlawfully discriminated against.

Nobody has deliberately set out to create this state of affairs, but it is not difficult to see how it has arisen. Over the last 20 years immigrants have been going to areas where labour was scarce and taking jobs which involved either low pay or uncongenial work or both and which indigenous workers, with a greater range of choice, did not want. The concentration of immigrants in low paid or low status jobs reinforced any association that existed between colour and inferiority and over the course of years this has come to be accepted as their lot, not only by management and white workers, but also by many of the immigrants themselves.

In some industries, and this mainly applies to Asian workers, language and communication problems made it convenient, for management and immigrants alike, for them to be concentrated in particular shifts or sections of plants. But here too there is a serious risk that, with the passage of time,

the segregated situations become identified not with genuine needs but with the particular ethnic group and so with colour.

The results of both these sets of circumstances is that black workers, even those who are not newcomers, may hesitate to seek opportunities in areas in which all the employees are white. White employees may resist alterations in the pattern that they have come to regard as normal. Those responsible for recruitment may become accustomed to allocating coloured workers to sections or shifts that have become identified with particular groups. If this hardens into a pattern, tensions and conflicts will occur when pressures to change the pattern arise, as they inevitably will, particularly as the aspirations and expectations of coloured citizens approximate to those of the indigenous population.

The essential point is this: racial discrimination is broadly speaking of two kinds—first, active discrimination, the treatment of a specific indivdual less favourably than others on racial grounds, which only occurs when a person seeks something and another person prevents him getting that which he seeks. Secondly, passive discrimination, the acceptance by everybody concerned of situations where equal opportunity is denied, where 'segregation' has come to be regarded as the norm and where the individual or group may not even be aware that they are the victims of discrimination.

Under its present powers, the Board can and does deal with the first kind of discrimination when it comes to our attention. But neither we nor anybody else have so far any powers to deal with the second kind, the 'passive' discrimination which is in many cases unconscious and which is more widespread and potentially more dangerous than the first.

All this is not intended, however, to suggest that there has been no progress in combating the degrading practice of racial discrimination. Not only has the number of complaints made to the Board recently increased—despite mistrust of authority—but also we are seeing an increase in the number of these cases in which the Board or its voluntary committees form an opinion of unlawful discrimination. In the first ten months of 1974 these rose to 176 compared with only 130 such opinions in the whole of 1973.

In conclusion, for an objective view, I am happy to cite the concluding words of a recent report on discrimination[6] published by the independent social science institute PEP (Political and Economic Planning):

> Since 1967, before the second Race Relations Act, there has been a sharp decrease in the level of discrimination against West Indians and Asians when seeking accommodation. In the case of employment an exact comparison cannot be made, but the general drift of the 1967 findings showed that at the time discrimination in recruitment to employment was taking place on a massive scale. From our present findings it seems likely that discrimination in this field too, has decreased since 1967.
>
> Although the level of discrimination seems, therefore, to be lower now than it was before the Act, the general conclusion from these findings must be that the number of cases of discrimination that are dealt with by the law (either by means of conciliation or by means of legal sanctions) forms a very small proportion of the number of acts of discrimination that actually occur.

NOTES:

[1] Report of the Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing, December 1972 (The

Erroll Report). H.M.S.O.
2 R.R.B. v. East Ham South Conservative Club, subsequently to be known as 'the Charter case'.
3 The Erroll Report, as above.
4 Report of the Race Relations Board for 1973. H.M.S.O.
5 Race Relations Act, 1965, Section 6.
6 *The Extent of Racial Discrimination,* by Neil McIntosh and David Smith, 1974.

[Sir Geoffrey Wilson, K.C.B., C.M.G., was appointed Chairman of the Race Relations Board on November 1st, 1971. He moved to the Board from the Commonwealth Secretariat. Formerly, he was Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Overseas Development. His earlier public service was in the Foreign Office, the Cabinet Office and the Treasury.]

The Race Relations Board is a statutory body with the duty of securing compliance with the 1968 Race Relations Act which makes discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, national or ethnic origin unlawful in employment, housing and the provision of goods and services.

The April issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Moral Judgements and Political Prejudice* by Geoffrey Stern; *Shades of the Weimar Republic: Report from Ankara* by Alfred Joachim Fischer; *The Theme of Disillusionment in the Drama of Arthur Pinero* by Edmund J. Milner and *Shanghai* by Benjamin G. Cavanero.

'FOR THEY ARE ALL HONOURABLE MEN'

by Michael Hart

DURING the last General Election campaign it was said by some, believe it or not, that Enoch Powell was out of his mind. Well, your correspondent went to listen to him in Bristol. The meeting was hardly advertised at all and it was with some difficulty that I found out where and when it was to take place. The queue stretched half way down the street long before the doors opened. It was the biggest hall in Bristol and twice as many people as the place would admit were turned away when finally the doors were shut.

Enoch Powell spoke for an hour in a silence in which you could have heard a pin drop. His audience was mixed. It was Tory, Labour, Liberal, young and old, black and white. The speech was without emotion. It was erudite and concise.

If Enoch Powell is mad then we are all mad. But no one who has ever listened to the greatest political orator of our times, to the Privy Councillor who has been heard as no man has been heard since Churchill, can doubt that in the language of this honest and brave man lies our only hope of erecting a final barrier before national extinction.

We now have a Labour Government elected, in vital part, by those who will never forgive them if they fail us on Europe. We have been promised a poll on the Common Market and they had better keep that promise if they break every other one. There are some people in this country who have sacrificed a great deal to give Labour power. They did it because they thought they must. They did so for reasons which, to them, seemed fair and sufficient.

They were Tories who voted Labour, or who abstained from voting Conservative, for what they believed to be the greater good.

As Enoch Powell said at Stockport in 1973:

> Yet I would not conceal, even if I could, where my own counsel lies. Independence, the freedom of a self-governing nation, is in my estimation the highest political good, for which any disadvantage, and any sacrifice, are a cheap price.
>
> It is worth living for: it is worth fighting for: it is worth dying for.

How can anyone doubt that many Britons who heard what he said did their duty at the last election and at this one? Who can doubt that they did their duty as they saw it?

The Common Market issue is the greatest schism in British politics since the split in the Liberal Party in 1886 which gave the Conservative Party the power they have held almost to this day. If the Tories choose not to change course, the Conservative Party may hand the government of the country to the British Labour Party for a generation.

> There is not a state in Africa or Asia which would not scorn to bargain away its independence. It is not for us to judge what others may think it right to do with their own. It is for us, and for us alone, to determine if we will continue to be a free, self-governing people.

In these words, Britain stands at the crossroads.

Your correspondent does not seek to conceal his attitude, which is entirely partisan on this national issue. In a nutshell: to vote only for withdrawal regardless of negotiated terms must be our quiet determination.

To start with, short of this, we shall lose Scotland. The Scots are resolved not to have 'their' oil handed over on a plate by their friends the English to Europe. And we should match their resolution with our own. Let us face it. The Common Market issue has bedevilled politics for nearly 20 years. It has ruined the country and shattered the Conservative Party. Born of a wish to put the Labour Party in a strait-jacket, it may end by putting Labour in power for most of the rest of the century. If Harold Wilson goes to the country on a platform of 'Let's get out' and the Tories are so foolish as still to be on the same tack of 'a fair wind for Europe and Political, Monetary, Financial and Defence Union by 1980', there will be a Labour landslide.

Said Enoch Powell:

> An Englishman may honourably contend that this country ought to become a province of a larger state and a Member of Parliament may honourably vote to reduce the Parliament of the United Kingdom to the status of a provincial or subordinate assembly. Let there be no misunderstanding, however, that this is the meaning if Britain remains party to the E.E.C., within the present framework.

Tory M.P.s voted, when they supported the European Communities Bill, for Parliament to be so reduced. They say they do not see this consequence. Your correspondent believes that, until and unless it is speedily recalled, British independence has already gone in the most practical and thoroughgoing sense. And he is not alone.

This, then, is the split in the Tory ranks, an honourable division of opinion, which has put the Labour Party into power in the country. And the sooner this is accepted and remedied the sooner the Conservative Party will be on the road to recovery.

Most people in Britain believe the EEC will lead to a European Federal State. The pro-Market M.P.s—or some of them anyway—deny that this is the logical consequence of their actions. If we anti-Marketeers are right, at what stage will the M.P.s admit they were wrong and that they have, inadvertently, misled the people?

My guess is never. There will be just as many people standing on platforms admitting that they misled the people as those who openly asserted later that they opposed Churchill in the Thirties.

Of course, the reason that we can be so certain that the end product will be a federal or unitary state lies not so much on the many statements by European leaders that this is the intention, or even in the preamble to the Treaty of Rome, which speaks of ever closer union between the European peoples, but in the inherent instability and incompleteness of the EEC as it stands today. It is patently merely a segment of a political entity awaiting the rest, the Monetary, Financial, Political, Defence Communities, to form a unitary state under an elected or appointed Chief Executive. Then

Europa will be born and Britain, the only country not conquered by Napoleon, will have the *Code Napoléon* and the rigid legal and financial systems of continental Europe foisted upon her.

So none of us need wait upon the words of Harold Wilson or Margaret Thatcher or any other leader. We can work it out for ourselves and, whatever they say, when they have this poll on Europe—it will have to be a referendum or it will not be accurate—we will know where we are going.

Unless we vote as our instincts tell us, unless we vote for withdrawal from the EEC, we are finished as a nation state.

'Political Union is the central aim of these European powers and we would willingly accept this ultimate goal', wrote Harold Macmillan in 1962 in a Conservative Central Office pamphlet in which only this one single sentence betrayed the real purpose of pro-Marketeers. I have no doubt many people read the pamphlet without even noticing this one sentence. And yet that was what it is all about.

'The people must be led slowly and unsuspectingly towards the abandonment of their traditional economic defences'. This time the words of Peter Thorneycroft, another Conservative pro-Marketeer.

And so to 1975. After two years in the Common Market we have the worst trade figures in history and the Stock Exchange is bumping along the bottom of a 15 to 20 year 'low'. Taking inflation into account this means that shares are not much above the value of 40 years ago. Traditional economic defences certainly have been abandoned. They were prophetic words.

So far, Britain's European policies have proved to be disastrous for this country. Joining the Common Market has involved Britain in an astonishing deficit with the old Market 'Six'. Over £1,000 million in 1973, £2,075 million in 1974 and promising to run at an even higher rate, month by month, in 1975. The pro-Marketeers told us of the great 'home market' which would be the salvation of this country and earn us enough surplus to pay for the all-too-apparent burdens of EEC membership. But the current trade deficit was easy for any reasonably informed person to predict. Only the size of the deficit was unforeseen by those of us who were opposed to membership. And had we been as gloomy as the facts themselves, like Cassandra of classical times, we would not have been believed.

But, of course, the visible trade deficit is not all. Piled on top of this is £100 million a year, rising to £245 million in 1978, paid directly to subsidise French agriculture. Then there is the higher cost of importing dear food from Europe, the easier export of capital to the Continent and the loss of tax-free food from the old Dominions. All these are self-inflicted burdens. This year will be worse. Quite apart from the oil price, which would have been easier to withstand if we had not been caught off balance when the crunch came, we are committed to an ever-increasing drain of funds across the exchanges into Western Europe.

But the unkindest blow of all inflicted by the Market on the British people lies in the dear-food policy. This means a direct, permanent and

growing loss to our standard of living and the sharp rise in local government rates can, in a substantial degree, be blamed on this pernicious and eroding factor. It is, perhaps, ironical that the Liberals, whose idea it all was in the first place, and whose vital votes in the Commons thrust the European Communities Bill through a reluctant Parliament, should lead the field in complaining about the results of their own theories. That there should be some form of rate reform is now, of course, self-evident.

Certainly the rates have also been affected by other influences, foremost of which are the Government's switching the subsidy to the cities and the last government hiving off high rateable areas to form new counties, which, in changing the map of Britain to resemble, more nearly, that of Western Europe, was a European necessity. It is fair here to say that many M.P.s voted regionally against this, but in insufficient numbers, at any one time, to achieve anything other than a halo from their own constituencies. The dear-food policy of the Market, the Common Agricultural Policy, works as follows: a floor price is fixed in Brussels below which the price of a given food must not be allowed to fall. 'Agricultural protection' is what it is called and it is the sort of protection—abandoned by Britain more than a hundred years ago—that has, in the past, kept France, Italy and Germany with a stratum of society known as peasants. Britain has to conform to the CAP in a series of steps which raise the price, year by year, over a transitional period of four to five years.

Butter, for instance, had to be forced up from £250 a ton before we joined—now about £420—to £825 in a few years' time. This, even now, is a 50 per cent stomach tax, an import levy of about £200 a ton. On cheese the levy is about £300 a ton. On orders from Brussels, taxes have been imposed by the British Government on beef, mutton, bacon, ham, pork, fish, eggs, tinned and fresh fruit and grain, in addition to butter and cheese, coming into this country from our traditional Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, South African and American suppliers overseas. This is one of the principal reasons why we are embraced by the cloying tentacles of inflation and why the cost of everything, including local government, is sky high and going higher.

We have literally invited our overseas suppliers to send us half as much food at twice the price, so as to earn as much money for themselves as before, and save having to tax it. Thus Britain, the largest food importer in the world, has made a substantial contribution to world inflation which the Arabs, for one, were complaining about when they used the Israeli war as an excuse to 'jack up' the oil price. But the rise in food prices in Britain today, serious thought it is, is only the beginning, not the end. Much more is to come if we remain members of the Common Market. Because when food prices tend to fall with, for instance, good harvests and increased efficiency overseas, Britain will be unable to take advantage of the improved situation. Our food prices will be held up, in perpetuity, by EEC taxes at the port of entry. And the money raised by the tax goes, of course, to Europe along with 1 per cent of VAT on everything we buy and do.

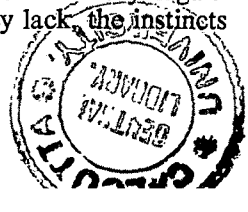
Unable to deny the astonishing increase in food prices in Britain, the Marketeers now try to pretend that the greater part of this is not due to our entry into Europe. The ordinary people are quite right in refusing to believe this elaborate fiction, as a glance at the real facts convincingly shows. The rise in the United Kingdom in 1973 was about three times as great as those three main countries of EFTA, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, which wisely stayed out of the Community. If the present British Government does one thing for this country, and that is, by a referendum, to remove the Common Market from party politics, they will, in that respect, have served us well. This is despite nationalisation, defence cuts, income tax refunds for unregistered trade unions, financial aid to terrorists and other matters for which it is possible to have views ranging from marked reservation to outright hostility. Because, if we can have a national referendum, and every other country had one, we can then vote NO to Europe and YES to our own political party and just be British again.

But, make no mistake, this is a serious issue. If we go on to monetary and financial union by 1980 as is planned, and this means political union, we shall have given all our vast oil province of the north to Europe for nothing. For just as the oilfields of Texas belong to the Government of the USA, so our oil will belong to the Government of the United States of Europe. That is what the argument is about and it would be well if none of us should ever forget it.

For our country, in the North Sea windfall lies the only chance in all our history of generating enough wealth to have an effective national defence policy and a welfare state, both at the same time. To build, if we will—and in safety—Blake's Jerusalem. As long as there is a threat from the East we must, of course, be loyal to our European neighbours in the matter of the military alliance.

On Tuesday, the 20th August last year, the Independent Television news caster reported that there had been an 18% devaluation of the pound sterling 'since December 1971'. He did not say 'since January 1972' because that might have been getting warm. He did not say since Britain voluntarily imposed levies on foodstuffs at the ports of entry and floated the pound in preparation for membership of the Common Market. As a young woman said recently, addressing a constituency Women's Advisory Committee: 'Don't worry, ladies, the media are on our side'. She could have said that again. She was, of course, the visiting speaker of the British European Movement and, as such, the darling of the modern Conservative Party.

The British European Movement is, perhaps, in some respects, the most unsuccessful organisation the world has ever known. They have had everything on their side—money, influence, prestige, government support—and they have got nowhere. Everything they have touched has turned to ashes. They have infiltrated the schools and the universities. They have their Europe Day, they have their glossy magazines distributed with the aid of foreign funds, they have the media—the radio, the television. Practically every newspaper in the land is on their side. What more could any organisation need? Only one thing more, and that is what they lack, the instincts of the people.



There are some things that money cannot buy, and amongst these things are the decent susceptibilities of the English, Scots and Welsh who, seemingly only interested in football, somehow come up with the right answer without even listening. If they did listen, because they were to be asked to decide, the answer would be right and accurate. Most of us, leading busy lives, see little point in thinking deeply on any subject unless we are going to be asked to come to a conclusion. What is the point? And so far, at every election, we have been told that the Common Market was not an issue. This was, of course, a political lie by any standard, but at no time have we ever been able to get our teeth into the very prevarication which has reduced us to national impotence.

The Common Market is a 'dead duck', said the Prime Minister of 1964 and a grateful Britain collapsed with a sigh of relief. The words of the anti-Marketeers sounding, perhaps, like Old Testament prophets: 'Robbery in the High Street and ruin on the land, that is the prospect for Britain in the Common Market', were shrugged off with a smile. And yet it has all happened. Are we not being robbed in the High Street? And are the farmers happy? Stock is being slaughtered at a loss and small farms are folding up. Horticulture has been virtually killed. On August 15th last year, the Poultry World had an article headed 'Cut your losses with tax relief'.

If the farmers had been told on January 1st, 1973 how to cut their losses with tax relief, would they have viewed with equanimity the support their Members gave to the European Communities Bill? Would the Tories, or the Liberals for that matter, have prospered in the Shires if the truth had been known? Perhaps the greatest stroke of luck the Market faction ever had was the oil crisis after the Yom Kippur War. Inflation has been with us since Wat Tyler and his men asked for an extra groat, but it has, recently, been greatly accelerated—as many people have noticed.

On the ordinary world inflation we have imposed our own deliberate acceleration, that of joining Europe. This would have been quite bad enough without the oil crisis, but the Arab action has made things worse for Britain and better for the British European Movement, because the superimposed inflation has effectively masked the all too inevitable results of entry. Now half truths can be more easily told. 'Let us put the blame on the Arabs and the Israelis', runs the current argument. Certainly let us not blame the Common Market.

If we were sitting pretty at this moment, can anyone imagine the pro-Marketeers remaining silent? And yet on the next occasion on which you have to listen to your Member of Parliament's speech—supposing he voted for the European Communities Act—you can safely take a bet with your neighbour that he will never mention the EEC.

And yet he told you in 1970 that he owed you his judgement. And he voted for the Bill even if some people in his constituency begged him not to do so. And now he is silent. Why? Because the powerful argument of the Scottish Nationalist Party—'Rich Scots or Poor Britons?'—is even more relevant south of the border than it is in Caledonia. 'Rich Britons or poor Europeans?' is also the choice for Britain. And if we should, by conspiracy,

not be allowed to choose for ourselves, how can we ever hold up our heads, as our forefathers did, and call ourselves free?

Mr. William Deedes, M.P., writing in the *Sunday Telegraph,* or the *Common Market Gazette,* as it is sometimes called by its critics, argues that the concept of parliamentary sovereignty and a popular referendum are not compatible. He produces argument after argument against consulting the people except the real one—from his point of view the answer would be wrong. The Tories have lost the election, they have lost it for one reason only, they no longer trust the people. Or they no longer *seem* to trust the people.

There is nothing wrong with Britain today that a dose of Common Sense cannot cure. We have always been turbulent. If you impose a rate of inflation upon the British people which exceeds any they have ever known before, that turbulence will seem to an outside observer to be approaching revolution. But nothing could be more false than that superficial external impression. Reduce the rate of inflation and you reduce the turbulence.

We are not 'Europeans', we are British. As General de Gaulle once said, we are 'the islanders and the Scandinavians of the north'. Our place is with our own people in the British world and, if you like, with the Norwegians and the Swedes who are, in many respects, very like us. Norway has prospered since, by referendum, she declined to join the Common Market. And so, for that matter, have Switzerland and Sweden, two other EFTA nations that wisely refused to follow us into Europa. We must leave the European Economic Community eventually, and the sooner the better.

All we anti-marketeers know is, that the longer it takes to recover our senses the more impoverished we shall become and the more patently apathetic our reactions will be to both success and failure. Life is not just pounds and pence, nor just personal material success. It is an amalgam of intangibles and foremost of these is the corporate health of the nation state. When we sell the nation we sell ourselves.

As Alice Duer Miller put it: 'In a world where England is finished and dead, I do not wish to live'.

[Lieutenant-Commander Michael L de V. Hart (Retd.) is an Executive Committee member of the Anti-Common Market League which, under the leadership of Neil Martin, M.P. and Douglas Jay, M.P., is mounting an all-party National Referendum Campaign. The Chairman of the League is Sir Robin Williams, Bt.]

AUSTRALIA — THE NEWEST CONTINENT

by John E. Owen

AUSTRALIA, the last continent to be discovered by Europeans, may still be the last frontier for Europeans (and Americans) seeking a new life in a new country at the other side of the world.

It is a land still largely unknown to perhaps the majority of people on the continent of Europe. Just as America was an unknown country to Europeans before World War II, and their picture of the US was comprised of myths and stereotypes, so today Australia is the subject of myths, contrasts, and paradoxes. With a land area as large as that of the continental US, Australia has only 13 million people, and it is a nation undergoing rapid change, as are many of the Asian countries who are its nearest geographic neighbours. She is also starting to redefine her role in relation to these Asian countries whose cultures and traditions are so different from hers, at a time when she (like them) is feeling a new consciousness of nationhood.

Geographically, Australia is unique in being the world's only continent inhabited by a single nation, and in being the earth's least mountainous continent. With a temperate climate except for the northern third of the nation which lies in the tropics, Australia has wide variations of both climate and scenery. Geologically the oldest continent, yet the most recently settled, its seasons are the reverse of the northern hemisphere, with Christmas in midsummer and midwinter in July. It is a land of busy metropolitan centres and isolated farms, hundreds of miles of desert called the 'Outback', which fills a third of the nation, and ocean beaches famous for surf-riding and other aquatic sports. In a short period of two hundred years, her people have built up a vigorous nation with rapidly growing industries that are changing the original face of the land as a nation of farmers to one of urban-dwellers, and Australia is in fact the most 'urbanised' nation in the world, in terms of the ratio of its people living in cities.

Its first recorded European contact was with Dutch settlers in the early 1600s, followed by the Englishman Captain Cook in 1770, but it was not until 1788 that a small party of English settlers landed on the spot that today is Sydney. Originally a convict settlement, free pioneers later came to develop the new continent and it has been over a century since convicts were transported 'down under'. The discovery of gold brought more settlers, and the well-known Australian sheep farms had their origin with sheep imported by early pioneers, and with 176 million sheep the continent today has more than ten sheep for every citizen.

The hardships faced by the first settlers and their descendants have become part of the national saga, but the settlers' importing sheep led to the wool industry that has played a big part in the nation's fast economic growth. Much has been written of the achievements of the early American settlers in transforming a wilderness continent into a nation, but the New World pioneers found rich agricultural land and prairies, while the pioneers

'Down Under' came to a dry desert of salt plains, redstone, and barren scrub trees, an environment that presented huge challenges. But in the middle of the 19th century the discovery of gold brought a new wave of settlers from many countries and inspired a vision of frontier democracy that still persists. Trade unionism received an impetus from the early gold miners, and helped to establish a system of social security legislation much earlier than many more developed countries.

During the 1950s and 1960s the discovery of great deposits of nickel, bauxite, and iron ore altered Australia's economy, which until then had been based upon wool exports. The work force was augmented by almost three million new immigrants, and rising industrial production has been stimulated by foreign investment, first from Britain and America and later Japan. It has become a matter of some concern in recent years that much of the economy is in overseas hands, particularly as Australia's economic potential is very great and nobody knows the complete extent of her natural resources. Despite the current recession, the economic future of Australia is forecast as bright by many experts, in view of its vast natural resources and the trained skills and optimistic energy of its people. The next 20 years are expected to show steady growth. And continued industrial growth is favoured, since Australia lives by trade and commerce. Her farms yield almost every type of vegetable and fruit (pineapples, berries, apples, pears, and even tropical fruits) and as she is the world's largest wool producer, this is the main export earner. But more Australians are now working in manufacturing than in agriculture. As in other countries, agricultural output has gone up even with fewer farm employees, while industrial growth now includes electronics, textiles, petro-chemicals, and oil refining. Hydro-electric power schemes and irrigation projects have changed the landscape, and for the last 25 years new minerals have led to exciting developments that have made Australia the world's leading producer of lead, zinc, and zircon. With the world's current search for new mineral supply sources, Australia's mining explorations can take on a new significance. The ethos of the mining towns of Kalgoorlie, Kambalda, and iron-ore towns is one of exciting discovery and 'get-rich-quick' hopes, a real frontier spirit reminiscent of North America's Klondike Gold Rush of the 19th century.

But it is in the big cities that nearly all Australians (over 85%) live and work. The old pioneer spirit today has been diverted into settling the suburbs, and the tradition of the frontier-loving 'Digger' in the mines or tending sheep farms now is myth. With the exception of Perth in Western Australia, the cities are all on the eastern coastal strip, and each of them (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, and Canberra) has its own tone and atmosphere. Sydney with its famous harbour and new Opera House is a bustling metropolis of 2.7 million, a cosmopolitan home for thousands of 'New Australians', the recent migrants from the continent of Europe, and a city sometimes compared with New York or Chicago in its ethos of vitality and busy haste. Although by European standards a young city, by the end of the century its population is expected to double, and planners are already concerned over the form that expansion will take. Where will

the needed 250 square miles of living area be found, plus the thousands of acres for new airports, industries, and public buildings? Will Inner Sydney become a jungle of towering office blocks by the year 2000? The city is not densely populated, but it is a great service centre for its people and those of the State of New South Wales. And like Helsinki it has its own unique charm, with residential areas, some of them on the water, and a great civic pride.

Melbourne (2.4 million), Australia's financial capital and fashion centre, has a more staid and formal ethos with parks, gardens, and boulevards. It still uses old-fashioned tramcars, and its architecture is 1870 Victorian English. Large numbers of Italian workers have almost made Melbourne the Naples of Australia. It is also a cultural arena with the Australian Ballet Company and a new Arts Centre, and more than one university.

Canberra, the national capital, is an attractively designed panoramic garden city of white government buildings, an artificial lake, wide tree-lined roads, and low surrounding hills. Adelaide, with 750,000 people, is another planned city designed in squares, with a river running through the centre that gives a delightful pastoral impression. It is sometimes called the City of Churches and it is also a city of culture with a Festival of the Arts that draws international performers. Another beautiful city is Perth, capital of Western Australia, with a river round its perimeter, new skyscrapers, botanical parks that extend for a thousand acres, and the impressive University of Western Australia. Ornamental lakes, manicured suburban lawns and ornate dwellings, and many private gardens with tropical plants are also typical of Perth. Its wealth has been enhanced by mineral discoveries that have raised the living standards of its 500,000 people, and it has been termed the city where the Australian Dream comes true.[1]

No account of the continent would be complete without a reference to Tasmania, unique among the seven States in being an island, south of Melbourne across the Bass Strait. Originally a convict settlement, it is now a scenically beautiful agricultural island.

The Australian Dream has come true for many new immigrants enjoying the high living standards of this young country. Almost half the population is under 25, there is no rigid class system or extremes of wealth and poverty, and almost three-quarters of families own their homes, which will typically have a refrigerator, TV and wireless, and washing machine. And about a third own their own cars. Travel by air is more common than in most countries, owing to the huge distances. It is not unusual, in fact, for a Melbourne businessman to fly to Sydney, 460 miles, and return home the same day. There is a sense of bigness, of distance, emanating partly from the 'Outback', Australia's desert heartland. Distance has been conquered, and while in Europe it is only the few who can travel long distances by air, the Australian citizen does not see this as outside his reach. It is not uncommon for secretaries, clerks, and other workers to spend their holidays in Fiji or on the Great Barrier Reef. A working man may seek a better job in a city 1,200 miles away.

But the suburban home is still the focal point of middle class lifestyles,

and suburban growth has been so rapid that some citizens bemoan the endless rows of look-alike small houses stretching for miles out of the eastern cities. The fear of an urban sprawl is very real in Sydney and Melbourne, similar to the blight of US cities, though this took longer to develop. But there is a conservation movement under way and a concern for architectural beauty and urban planning for aesthetic growth.

Leisure and recreation have an honoured place in this 'outdoors' country of the five-day working week. Open air sports (swimming, surf-riding, tennis, cricket, and golf) are popular, while the spectator sports of football and racing draw large audiences. June to October is the ski-ing season. Australia is not a 'permissive' society, in that censorship of books and films for anything of a sexual nature is quite prevalent and licensing hours in liquor saloons are restricted. But it is a leisure society when judged by the widespread enjoyment of sports. Rising prosperity has raised the material standards of its workers, who earn an average £35 per week, though some can receive up to £125 weekly with overtime pay.

On the surface, at least, Australia is becoming Americanised. The influx of US capital, together with TV and films, has left its mark. But it is a highly cosmopolitan society, particularly in the cities. The first migrants were from Britain, but they lost their numerical dominance a century ago and by the early 1900s the leadership of the country was in indigenous hands. British, Irish, and Scottish influence is still strong and the culture and lifestyle were of British origin until about World War II. Since then, the 'New Australians' have arrived as immigrants, starting with over two million between 1947 and 1966, and by 1966 almost one Australian in five was either a post-war settler or the child of one.[2] They have been well received into the nation, have made the adjustment without undue difficulty, and there has been employment for all, though joblessness is now rising.

About two-thirds of the new settlers have been of non-British descent. About a quarter of a million came from Northern Europe, a similar number from Eastern Europe, and about 460,000 from Southern Europe. Each group has made its contribution to the labour force and economy. As with early immigrants to the US, they tend to form tight little colonies in the big urban centres. But there has been intermarriage with native Australian girls, especially on the part of men from Britain, and as the years passed, more of the other groups have married outside their own ethnic circles, though the Italians and Greeks still tend to be somewhat exclusive in this respect. Similarly, some migrants from Southern Europe have returned home, at least temporarily. Others have found housing to be a problem, especially upon arrival and, for migrant children not speaking English, school presents many hurdles.

But were it not for the 'New Australians', the national economy would not have enjoyed its rapid prosperous expansion. The country has also become much more colourful in its population mixture, Australians now have an enticing choice of Continental restaurants, and in the arts and entertainment fields some of the new migrants have achieved prominence. The most recent arrivals are from the US, and in one recent year over 3,000

Americans settled, many of them apparently wishing to escape from the tensions of US urban life.

Originally a land that, like Canada, provided wide prospects for a better life for 19th century British working men and women and a sense of community and kinship not known before, Australia has more recently attracted a broader cross-section of Western humanity in search of more opportunity. The next ten years will probably decide the degree to which their assimilation into their new homeland has been successful. It is interesting to note that of the settlers who decide to leave Australia (and about 500 leave every week) the majority are apparently British. Discontent with housing is often cited as a reason for their departure, but more research needs to be done on the motivations behind the original decision to migrate and the factors leading to their homeward return.

Australia's 'White Only' immigration policy has often been criticised as discriminatory, and of some 100,000 yearly newcomers fewer than 3,000 have been from Asia. But under a 1958 Migration Act, persons with professional qualifications may be admitted and there are in fact about 40,000 Asian professionals now resident in Australia.[3]

A serious internal problem concerns the continent's oldest inhabitants, the Aborigines. Numbering about 140,000, they have been and still are segregated from the mainstream of the society, and their economic and welfare status is very low in comparison with the more fortunate majority. The Aborigines have often been compared with the US Indians as victims of segregation, discrimination, and inequality. As with the Amerindian, the Aborigines' rates of infant mortality are high (ten times that for whites), their health conditions are substandard, and when they try to leave their tribes they find jobs hard to obtain. But to return to their tribal life is then difficult and conducive to a sense of alienation. Alcoholism and poverty are widespread among the Aborigines, both in the Outback and city slums, as are illiteracy and unemployment. Unequal treatment at law and denial of the right to own their land reserves are a source of grievance. Their plight has been traditionally met with public apathy, though one hopeful portent is a rising humanitarian concern, and a white protest movement is making itself felt. Like the US Indian, the Aborigines were the original people of the continent, believed to have arrived from Asia some 20,000 years ago. And like the US Indians, they have a high birth rate but are aliens in their own country, an impoverished and isolated minority in a prosperous land.

For the other 99% of Australians, a comprehensive welfare system is in effect, with old age pensions, maternity allowances, unemployment and sickness benefits, and help for the disabled. In a land of relatively full employment and evenly-diffused affluence, there is not the poverty found in US cities and rural slums, though gradations of income do exist, and taxation is somewhat high for middle-class-income families. Inflation, currently standing at 16%, has made life hard for many old-age pensioners and other low-income groups. Various government grants are available for home buyers, government tribunals prescribe minimum wage rates, and

wage contracts often rise above the minimum. As in Finland, the health of the nation as shown by the usual indices, is at a high level. Private insurance firms furnish health care, under government subsidies. A noteworthy feature of Australian health schemes is the aerial medicine of the Outback, the 'Flying Doctor Service', developed in the last 50 years to bring medical aid to isolated cattle ranches, missions, and mining communities. The physicians, travelling by special planes, work from a group of centres, each of which have well-equipped hospitals, with aerial ambulances, radios, and nursing facilities. Shortwave radio enables the doctors to be in contact with even the most isolated communities, and there is now a Flying Dentist Service. Geographic distance and remoteness is no longer a health hazard in the Outback.

Education is well-developed at all levels, despite a teacher shortage. Since 1971, 3,000 American teachers have taken posts 'Down Under'. Australia's fifteen universities have experienced rapid growth in the last ten years, eleven of them have been established since 1950, and their problems emanate from recent expansion of enrolment. They are marked by academic vitality, with flourishing research projects, but growth and inflation have imposed great strain on budgets. Of their teaching staffs, fully 40% are from other countries, as are one-third of the hospital staffs.

The frontier history that helped to create the concept of Australia as a rough-hewn outpost of miners and gold-diggers has receded and while the ethos of a new frontier democracy is still present, it has been tempered by a rising cultural maturity and interest in the arts. Arts centres and galleries, symphony orchestras, thriving theatres, ballet, and composers are symbolic of this new trend. Some artists (Dame Nellie Melba, Joan Sutherland, Eileen Joyce, Robert Helpmann, and Judith Anderson) have won international renown. A distinctively Australian literature is emerging. Morris West, best-selling novelist, is Australian, as are Patrick White and Germaine Greer.

Some social analysts claim that the nation is still seeking its self-identity. But in the meantime it is a new frontier where, for those who are prepared to work hard, the future does hold real opportunities, and in which for the great majority of its people the good sides of life outweigh its disadvantages.

NOTES

[1] See Jonathan Aitken, *Land of Fortune, A Study of the New Australia* (1971), p.78.
[2] *Hammond Innes Introduces Australia* (Clive Turnbull, Editor) (1971), p.146.
[3] *John Gunther's Inside Australia* (William H. Forbis, Editor) 1972, pp.44-47.

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SHAW'S HEAVEN AND HELL

by Raymond S. Nelson

BERNARD Shaw laboured most of his life to formulate a coherent religious faith that would be acceptable to twentieth century minds. He early rejected orthodox Christian theology, though he kept the ethics and the language of the church. In the emerging system of creative evolution, he found a vehicle for his ideas and gave himself enthusiastically to it, deriving many of his insights from Lamarck, Butler and Nietzsche.

The ultimate expression of this evolutionary faith is *Back to Methuselah*, the play which he offered as a twentieth century Bible. It represents a coherent system, bringing together in one work the ideas that are threaded through most of the earlier plays. But eighteen years earlier, in *Man and Superman*, he dramatised some of his religious views, incomplete though they were at that time, and that early attempt still provides the best insight into his conceptions of heaven and hell.

Man's concepts of heaven and hell have varied from generation to generation according to prevailing world views, shifting religious dogmas, and general levels of education. Generally, however, over several thousands of years, western men have agreed that they were actual places in the universe, heaven located in some region beyond the outer spheres and hell at the heart of the earth. Perhaps men did so because the Bible presents such a substantial description of the place where the 'worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched'. Hell, in Biblical imagery, is traditionally located beneath the surface of the earth, sometimes lighted with lurid red flames and at other times blacked out in darkness, the dwelling place of rebellious angels and the souls of ungodly, unredeemed men. Such conceptions of hell are memorable in Milton and Dante for their concreteness and compelling sense of place. By contrast, heaven has traditionally been located in the outer reaches of space, the dwelling place of God, from whence he looks 'down' upon men.

Shaw's hell bears little resemblance to such traditional ideas. He makes clear in a programme note for the Court Theatre production of *Man and Superman* in 1907 that, although 'hell is popularly conceived . . . as a place . . . of cruelty and punishment, and heaven as a paradise of idle pleasure', he sees them as 'states of the soul'. Hell and heaven will be for him, then, not actual places, but mere figurative terms to indicate characteristic conditions of the human soul, or in Frederick McDowell's words, 'psychic reality'. The higher theology of the twentieth century teaches, says Shaw, that 'this world, or any other, may be made a hell by a society in a state of damnation: that is, a society so lacking in the higher orders of energy that it is given wholly to the pursuit of immediate pleasure, and cannot even conceive the passion of the divine will'.[1] Such a commentary makes it clear that people like Ramsden, Octavius, Hector, Malone, and Violet are as damned in hell as the Commander or the Devil himself. The living and

the 'dead' thus share a common damnation, for Shaw's term relates to states of existence not to sequences of time.

'Hell', says Don Juan to Dona Ana, 'is the home of honour, duty, justice, and the rest of the seven deadly virtues. All wickedness on earth is done in their name . . . ' It is a place of unreality and illusion, of sentiment and heart. The constant subject matter of hell is beauty and love: 'Here they talk about nothing else but love: its beauty, its holiness, its spirituality, its devil knows what!' and happiness is the insistent end to which its denizens apply themselves. 'Hell, in short, is a place where you have nothing to do but amuse yourself', or as Shaw so epigrammatically put it elsewhere, 'A perpetual holiday is a good working definition of hell'.[2]

Shaw concludes that the tendency of most men to pursue 'happiness' is irresponsible. Like Carlyle he has only contempt for those who pursue it as the highest good in life. 'Happy, my brother? First of all, what difference is it whether thou art happy or not?' asks Carlyle. 'It is not of the slightest consequence'.[3] But most men do seek happiness because their utilitarian or hedonistic mentors continue to offer it as the highest good. They commit the error of building their society on the greatest-happiness principle instead of on the greatest-nobility principle as they ought. The pursuit of happiness, or self-indulgence, thus becomes in Shaw, under the tutelage of Carlyle, one of the hallmarks of hell. It stands in stark contrast to the principle of commitment to the purposes of the Life Force, wherever these may lead.

Hell is therefore preoccupation with epicurean delight and leisure. For this reason the Statue has decided to leave heaven, where tradition has erroneously placed him, and go to his true home in hell. He belongs in hell because he had been in life a thoughtless, inconsiderate traditionalist. Having entertained dozens of women himself as a young man, he had played the role of an outraged father ready to redeem his daughter's 'honour' with his sword when a young man 'misbehaved' just as he himself had done. He acted that way because he 'was expected to'; he merely behaved as a gentleman customarily did. Now a visitor in hell, he is vain about his marble beauty and quite uninterested in understanding himself, life, or anything else, let alone engaging in any creative enterprise. He is almost all body, practically no mind. 'Why should [Life] want to understand itself?' he asks. 'Why not [let it] be content to enjoy itself? . . . I am quite content with brain enough to know I'm enjoying myself. . . . My experience is that one's pleasures don't bear thinking about'. A hedonist by nature, he will in the future be more at home in hell than he ever was in heaven.

His genial host, the Devil, is cast in a similar mould. He is a voluptuary and an epicurean in the popular sense of the word. He revels in music and beauty and love, believing that any being 'well exercised in these sensations, emotions, and studies is . . . refined and cultivated'. Above all things he is a 'gentleman', usually urbane and sophisticated, sometimes unctuous and hearty. Idleness is the condition of his kingdom and a strong point in his creed. Convinced that 'All is vanity' as Koheleth had put it, he ridicules reform, ascent, and evolution as mere illusions of progress. History proves

instead, he argues, that man vacillates from extreme to extreme like a huge pendulum, making no gains, yet is all the while deluded by the alternation into a sense of progress. The Devil does not believe in life or growth, but is instead committed to death and a static universe.

Nature has for him no purpose, and existence no end. Therefore he holds to a doctrine of drifting and passive anti-intellectualism: 'What is the use of knowing?' he asks Don Juan. The cornerstones of his position are preoccupation with self and the pursuit of pleasure. These are the two essential qualities in the Devil which Don Juan loathes more than any other, and they are the means of the Devil's most fruitful programme of evangelisation as arch-Tempter. Such preoccupations lead to listlessness among men and ultimately to will-lessness, the sin of sins for Shaw. For the soul of man is born by the exercise of individual will, he holds, and lost in the lack of it. If the Devil's province and preoccupation were to be summed up in a word, it would be 'body', that 'greasy commonplace' which pleasure, ease, luxury, romance, and sentiment all combine to serve.

Roebuck Ramsden and Octavius Robinson are different in age and interests, but they are fundamentally alike. They are sentimental, each living in a world well insulated from two cold facts of existence. Ramsden, a mid-century liberal, has cast off most theological dogmas and superstitions, but he has held tenaciously to the ideal of marriage, the sanctity of the home, and the angelic nature of woman as the last vestiges of an old orthodoxy. He has idealised woman and the home out of all recognition. Like him, Octavius Robinson has glamorised and falsified life beyond belief. He has idealised woman into an ethereal creature not yet seen on the face of the earth. He deliberately deceives himself concerning Ann, refusing to accept the obvious reality of her hypocrisy and duplicity. Hector Malone and his father are as bad, though for slightly different reasons. They share the same view of woman, marriage, and the home, but in addition they are taken in by pretensions to gentility. They have unlimited money and the power which money represents, but instead of using it constructively, the one fritters it away on romantic objects like abbeys and castles and the other foolishly renounces it. Violet, too, belongs among these lost creatures with her uselessness and parasitism. The 'dead bird' on her hat is the single best index to her nature. Such people are enemies of life and properly belong among the living damned.

It is clear, then, that Shaw's hell is a real state in the real world of men, if not a real 'place'. It is crowded with the 'best people—princes of the church and all', and includes most men on the face of the earth. The nature of hell has already been indicated in the discussion of the representative figures in it: it is a place of unreality, of illusion, of romantic and sentimental ideals, of idleness, of parasitism, of traditionalism and cool urbanity. It is much like Seville, a place of leisure, culture and sophistication.

If Shaw's hell is characterised by sumptuous luxury, romance and idleness, and the Devil's religion the urbane and sophisticated pursuit of idle pleasure, what then may his heaven be? 'Heaven is', in Shaw's own words, 'the home of the masters of reality', and earth is 'the home of the slaves of

reality'. As with hell, heaven is a state of the soul. But the heavenly state of the soul is consumed by 'the passion of the divine will', rather than 'the pursuit of immediate individual pleasure'; further, 'any world can be made a heaven by a society of persons in whom that passion is a master passion —a "communion of saints", in fact'.[4]

Heaven, in sharp contrast to hell, is not portrayed in *Man and Superman*. It is backstage, the 'place' from which the Statue has come, to which Don Juan goes, and Ana presumably follows. But even though it does not appear, it is quite fully discussed. The key word for Shaw's heaven is 'reality' and heaven is in every way the antithesis of hell. The dwellers in heaven 'live and work instead of playing and pretending', and see things 'as they are'. Steadfastness and peril are the glory of heaven, for there men steer instead of drift, and take upon themselves the responsibility of steering in political, economic, religious, and social affairs. Certainly one of the most distinctive qualities of heaven is the role which contemplation plays. In heaven, men engage in thought on all things, for contemplation is the chief joy of heaven, and assisting Life in its struggle upward is its chief work. Naturally, therefore, heaven is concerned with mind in preference to body, and the very concept of such a place is an earnest of the day when the body shall have disappeared as no longer necessary to the highest Life.

Don Juan belongs in heaven. He is completely out of his element in hell, and is there because the Commander had misrepresented him to the Devil as being what popular opinion had made him: a rake, a rascal, and a libertine. He is none of these, but an avowed Life enthusiast who sees things clearly and unromantically. Women had pursued him as an irresistible man, and would not believe him when he sought to disillusion them about 'love' and 'romance'. It is his role in hell, just before he leaves, to clarify such issues for Dona Ana and to challenge the grand voluptuary, the Devil himself, on these questions of ultimate truth and reality. He denies the validity of popular notions of 'love', generally rooted in personal gratification of the senses. He urges instead that the sexual embrace is impersonal, though sacred and holy, and is intended to serve the best long range interests of the race. It is only fools and artists who have idealised woman and romanticised marriage out of all resemblance to the real state of affairs in the average home. In reality, women are the chalice of life whose great purpose is to reproduce and to nurture their offspring. They are the great original source of life, and their glory lies in the maintenance of their distinctive function. Man, by contrast, serves only incidentally in the reproductive process and then gives himself to the creation of civilisation. But during centuries of generation, men and women have lost sight of what they are and what they can be. They are basically cowards, though they pretend to be 'bold and bad'. Men may appear to swagger about as tyrants, bullies, pirates, or murderers, but they are in essence abjectly tame and cowardly. What they need—and Don Juan knows this too—is an animating, transforming idea to make them unrecognisably magnificent creatures. Again, it is 'mind' which makes the difference.

Don Juan thus qualifies for heaven on two essential points. He is in love with contemplation and he is eager to work. No one can read the dialogue between Don Juan and his companions without being struck by the vividness of his perceptions and the cogency of his arguments. Long before he leaves the environs of hell he has established the fact that he is well prepared to pursue the rigours of contemplation for 'all eternity' in heaven. Thought is as natural as breathing to him. He does not accept the assumptions or the fables of his time uncritically. He has examined most disciplines and found them inadequate. He says:

> I tell you that as long as I can conceive something better than myself I cannot be easy unless I am striving to bring it into existence or clearing the way for it. That is the law of my life. That is the working in me of Life's incessant aspiration to higher organisation, wider, deeper, intenser self-consciousness, and clearer self-understanding. It was the supremacy of this purpose that reduced love for me to the mere pleasure of a moment, art for me to the mere schooling of my faculties, religion for me to a mere excuse for laziness, since it had set up a God who looked at the world and saw that it was good, against the instinct in me that looked through my eyes at the world and saw that it could be improved.

In this passage Don Juan spares nothing from full critical analysis. There are no objects or subjects beyond the searching scrutiny of his intelligence; and no easy blandishments will be allowed himself or any other. Such constant and vigorous play of mind is his greatest strength.

The second, already indicated, is his readiness to serve the Life Force. 'There is the work of helping Life in its struggle upward', he says to Ana while trying to explain the joys and responsibilities of heaven, for heaven is an amalgam of both. One cannot help but think of Carlyle in this connection because work was a cardinal point in his gospel. In work, he argues, men find fulfilment: 'the latest Gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it. . . . Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life purpose'.[5] In the two chapters of *Past and Present* called *Labour* and *Reward,* Carlyle expatiates at length on the religious nature of work and its consequent redemptive power in human experience. Don Juan accepts his view: 'In heaven, as I picture it, dear lady [he says to Ana] you live and work'. Quite clearly, the prospect of 'service' and 'work' pleases him as much as it does the prophet of Dumfriesshire.

It seems apparent, then, that Don Juan's Carlylean conception of heaven as a place of work as well as a place of contemplation is perfectly consistent with Shaw's entire philosophy. His religion is not other-worldly nor does it provide for a future existence as so many world religions do.

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[1]Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw* (New York, 1955), p.89.
[2]*Misalliance,* p.34. The Standard Constable is cited.
[3]Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present,* in *Works,* ed. H. D. Traill (New York, 1897), VI, 364, 365.
[4]Mander and Mitchenson, p.89.
[5]Carlyle, *Past and Present,* pp.404, 405.

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FOOD, DEVELOPMENT AND THE CRISIS

by Nigel Harris

> If the rate of food production cannot be significantly increased, we must be prepared for the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.
>
> B. R. Sen, Director General, UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, Oct. 1966
>
> In our own country, we believe that the opportunity to gain increasing returns from the market will result in substantially larger production in the year ahead . . . The incentive is there in the form of market opportunity—the opportunity to profit.—Earl Butz, US Secretary of Agriculture, Nov. 1974.

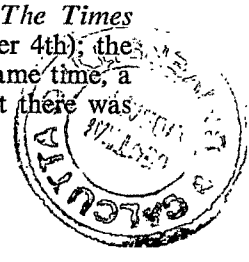
THERE are eight years between the pessimism of Mr. Sen and the optimism of Mr. Butz. They are eight years which include famines in eastern India and in Africa as well as the 'Green Revolution' in India. Despite Mr. Butz's confidence, the prospect of increasingly frequent famines has grown more, rather than less, likely. But despite the spasm of anxiety this autumn, there are no crises so severe that they cannot be translated into platitudes or forgotten. Now that the autumn harvests in India and Bangladesh have pushed prices down, world political leaders and newspapermen have moved on to other interests. The plight of the hungry fades away once more. A pragmatic and sober observer of the world scene might assume that in the face of all the warnings this indifference ought to evoke despair as the only moderate response. Perhaps this is what moved the former German foreign minister earlier this year to cry:

> Things cannot go on like this. No one with a clear head and a feeling heart should still be able to sleep calmly . . . We are stumbling in the dark.

Let us assume—purely for the sake of idle argument—that it is a good thing that people should not be allowed to die of starvation or associated ailments, and that this is a matter of overriding priority. How has the world order measured up to this standard in the last few months? The answer does not concern one isolated problem, the hungry and the poor. The problem of feeding people is a microcosm of the world's problems. If we could feed everybody, there are very few other problems that could not be overcome. For the physical shortage of food is quite small (last year's output was probably two and a half per cent down on the year before). But the maldistribution of both food and, even more, the means to grow it, is wildly unequal. It is in the inequality of distribution that the problem lies. The maldistribution is not solely between areas—the more and the less industrialised regions—nor between countries. Within each country, within each district, town and village, the maldistribution exists, and is chained together in one whole, one world economy. Examining a few key links in the chain illustrates this.

1. Rangpur

Rangpur is the province of Bangladesh worst afflicted by starvation in the 'lean' season before the autumn harvest was available. *The Times* correspondent there compared conditions with Belsen (November 4th); the estimated number of deaths rose to staggering heights. At the same time, a United Nations FAO official in Dacca, the capital, alleged that there was



little physical scarcity of foodgrains in the country. The problem was hoarding and smuggling grain (up to one million tons) out of the country to neighbouring India.

There were other factors at work. Rice prices had increased far beyond the capacity to buy of nearly two-thirds of the population. It is ironic that, during the 1970 election campaign, the present Prime Minister, Mujibur Rahman, promised to get the rice price lowered from Takas 40 (about US$3.20) per maund (about 40 kilograms) to 20. Yet by August, the price was over Takas 200, and in some cases ultimately went as high as 400. Meanwhile, the capacity to buy had declined. It is reckoned that the proportion of cultivators without land increased from 18 per cent in 1961 to 40 per cent in 1973. Real wages went down by nearly a third.

However, not everybody loses in a famine. Some people make fortunes. Great families were founded in the terrible 1943-44 Bengal famine (when three and a half million people died). The same has been true on this occasion. Lawrence Lifschultz noted (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Nov. 15, 1974, p.16) the stages of rural decay which raised the fortunes of the rich peasantry. In mid-August, the poorer peasants and the landless labourers fled from the villages to the district towns in search of food. In the first week of September, the price of beef and bullocks dropped precipitately by 50 per cent, showing that now the middle peasants were affected and driven to panic sales of their draught bullocks. Next season, they will have no animals for ploughing, and will—if they can—be compelled to hire them from those to whom they sold them. The future crop, still standing in the fields, was sold at a third of its real market value; the buyers will now scoop the high profits of high rice prices when they sell, and those who sold will be unable to repay their debts. Finally, in early October, there was a rush of land sales. In one district town, the local officials estimated that not since records were begun (in 1918) had so much land changed hands, and at half the normal price. Yet the cruel rice prices continued to rise. Those that could, sold the rest of their belongings, blankets and clothes; with the onset of cold weather, pneumonia was added to cholera and dysentery, the jackals that follow famine. In Bangladesh as a whole, perhaps as many as 150,000 died.

2. South Asia

A lot of money, land, animals and belongings changed hands. As the flood level of the rice price subsided, it reveals a changed landscape. There are many more permanently destitute who, even if they have survived this catastrophe, will be destroyed by the next. But the people who rule Bangladesh—the local politicians, rich farmers, merchants, traders, moneylenders, and their gangster supporters, organised loosely in the country's governing party, the Awami League—have made fortunes both out of smuggling and hoarding, then out of the resulting inflation in prices. Many of them must find it an intolerable strain to avoid rejoicing. Some of them give in to temptation; in mid-November, as the starving limped into Dacca, a most lavish wedding reception was held for 3,000 guests (including Government ministers) in the fashionable Dacca Club, at an estimated cost of US

$18,750. But for those that might find this juxtaposition distasteful, we need only remember that even more expensive banquets were being held in Rome for Dr. Kissinger and other distinguished visitors to the UN World Food Conference at roughly the same time.

The same picture is repeated wherever disaster afflicted south Asia (that is, for our purposes, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan). It was Mrs. Gandhi, India's Prime Minister, who argued not long ago, that 'what food we have in this country is not far short of what we need, provided hoarded stocks are unearthed'. But the Indian administration, like its Bangladesh counterpart, is part and parcel of a rich peasant society. It cannot be directed to attacking the interests of its kinsmen which include its own interests. Indeed, it has pursued as a matter of policy the opposite course. For more than a decade, the Government has attempted to provide massive support to the rich farmers as the primary method of raising farm output. Food output in fact soared under this policy (the 'Green Revolution'), but it was never at a price the mass of rural folk could afford. Furthermore, the food output that did meet the buying capacity of the mass suffered by the redistribution of resources towards the rich farmers. A third of the population is without land and, as in Bangladesh, real wages are declining. A year ago, daily rural wages in West Bengal were said to be Rs.3.00, but now they are Rs.1.50. At the height of the famine, the unemployed offered themselves for Rs.1.35, but there were few takers (simultaneously, the rice price was around Rs.3.30 per kilo). To conserve their grain stocks for higher prices, the rich farmers converted their former payments in grain to labourers to cash, with the result that the labourers could no longer afford to buy.

The rich farmers have the whiphand. A year ago, they destroyed the Government's half-hearted attempt to nationalise the wheat trade in order to curb prices by withholding supplies to the market. They have stifled every attempt at radical land reform, at lowering the guaranteed Government wheat price, even at introducing some modest measure of rural taxation. Now they complain that grain prices are too low to compensate them for the increased prices of fertiliser, oil and pesticides. To add point to their complaints, they withheld supplies to the market until prices rose to a level agreeable to them. The famine was an incidental. The rich farmers have been buoyed by a flood of illegally made money that has flowed into agriculture to reap some of the rich rewards. A West Bengal Minister estimated recently that US $111 million of what Indians call 'black money' has flowed into grain speculation.

3. The World Grain Market

The rich farmers of south Asia are only, however, the little men. They measure their rewards in land and in thousands of Rupees. Yet their relationship to the poor of south Asia is identical to the relationship of the rich grain dealers abroad to the subcontinent. If the landless labourers are driven to mortgage their future just to survive, the poor countries of south Asia are driven to an identical course of action vis-à-vis the world. The world scarcity of foodstuffs is slight, much less proportionately than it is

inside India. But in both cases, it is the price which puts food beyond the reach of the poor buyers. The grain market of the world, like that of Bangladesh, feeds well those with the right income.

The poor have been driven to market. Bangladesh's growing hunger—and its exchange rate—has led many farmers to convert their acreage from jute, the country's main export crop, to rice. Output of jute last year may be down by nearly a third. Foreign buyers are prompted to change permanently from jute as a packing material to synthetic fibres because of the scarcity, a loss to Bangladesh's future earnings. The country's present export earnings are radically reduced, and so is its capacity to pay higher prices for food imports.

The goods imported by the backward countries are tending to increase in price rapidly, while the value of their main exports declines (the increase in oil prices is only the last straw). Two years ago, for the first time for a long while, the price of the exports of backward countries increased rapidly. The poor countries' share in the value of world exports which had declined from 30 per cent in 1950 to 17 per cent in 1970, rose to 27 per cent. Of course, within those averages, there were very different performances—the average increases in value of exports was 40 per cent, but the richest reached 55 per cent, and the mass of the poorest countries, only 18 per cent. But in the past year, only oil, foodstuffs and fertilisers among the primary commodity exports have continued to rise. The value of exports of base metals, rubber, cotton and fibres has halved in value in the last six months. Copper, for example (the key export of Chile, Zaïre, Peru and Zambia) is now 60 per cent cheaper than it was in April. As a result, it takes far more exports to buy the same level of imports, particularly where prices of imported industrialised goods have continued to rise. To buy foodstuffs exacerbates the whole imbalance. Again, as in Rangpur, it is the poorest who suffer most.

If we add to the effects of this, the fact that the servicing of past borrowing has now reached the level where, in many cases, a sizeable share of export earnings are immediately the property of foreign lenders, we can see that the room for anything approaching the import of goods for economic development is disappearing. And then there are the effects of increased oil prices.

The Western world likes to blame inflation and sundry other evils on the increase in oil prices. But the trends were well established long before the oil producers set out to restore the decline in the real value of their exports. As the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance of Iran pointed out not long ago, between 1947 and 1970, the posted price per barrel of Persian Gulf oil was 'manipulated' down from $2.17 to $1.30, while other commodity prices increased several times over. 'This', he said, 'was conveniently labelled the law of supply and demand, the principle of free trade, and no one in the industrialised world then spoke of price rigging'. Once the oil producers attempted to loosen the cartel control of oil by using the principle of supply and demand, they have been held responsible for all the sins of mankind. Iran, the Minister said, tried to force the oil companies to

lower their profit per barrel from an average of $2 to 50 cents. But without success. The Western Governments decided to treat the profit margins of the oil companies in exactly the same way as Mrs. Gandhi or Sheikh Mujib treat the profits of Indian and Bangladeshi rich farmers. In both cases, it is the poorest consumer who is made the sacrificial victim.

However, important as oil is, the increase in its price is not the cause of inflation, but the result. In the last boom in the world economy, commodities were sucked into the industrialised countries. With currency instability and scarcity, commodity prices soared. The demand for better quality foodstuffs in the industrialised countries—because of the boom—shifted the balance of consumption. Increasing beef and mutton prices prompted farmers and Governments to expand livestock herds. In Britain, for example, 2.7 million cattle and 2 million sheep were added (an increase of 25 per cent in the size of the herd). But there was little increase in the pasturage, so the new mouths were fed from stocks. Fodder stocks dropped from over 1 million tons in June 1973 to 162,000 tons a year later.

The United States is one of the main exporters of animal fodder, but it had also expanded its herds. As a result, it was reluctant to expand its exports. Indeed, when the maize and soyabean crops were less than expected this year, for a time it banned exports. The US Government argued that this was necessary to keep down American prices. But it had the other effect of prompting European farmers to buy, among other things, American wheat with which to feed their cattle. The wheat price accordingly soared at the same time as, with the onset of economic decline, the demand for beef and mutton was falling. The Bangladesh poor were now crucified by the attempt to feed the extra cattle of Europe and the United States which no one would buy. There were other effects. As the FAO Director-General, Mr. A. H. Boerma, noted recently, Western Governments are currently subsidising the use of 1.5 million tons of skim milk powder to feed livestock—that is, three times the annual import of skim milk to the backward countries as a whole.

In every aspect, the situation is the same. Take, for example, fertilisers, the necessary condition of high food output. It has been estimated that the application of one ton of extra fertiliser on good soil in an economically backward country will yield an increase of ten tons of foodgrains, but in an industrialised country, only three tons (because the land is already heavily fertilised). That would seem a strong case for redistributing fertilisers to where they would yield the maximum returns. Except that the price does not allow it. To build a fertiliser industry requires very substantial capital investment, energy supplies and technical knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that 90 per cent of world fertiliser output is manufactured in the industrialised countries. The poor countries, with 70 per cent of the world's population, produce only seven and a half per cent—and consume fifteen per cent—of world output. Like other commodities, fertiliser experienced a rapid price increase from 1972. Because of the high demand for food, the increase in fertiliser prices continued when other commodity prices collapsed. Now all the major industrialised countries complain of a

shortage, which has pushed prices even higher. Even on present operations —that is, without increasing the use of fertilisers—the poor countries need an extra one and a half million tons, but meanwhile the United States persists in using about two million tons each year for non-agricultural purposes (lawns, cemeteries, golf courses, etc.). In July, the United Nations' FAO appealed to the industrialised powers for fertiliser aid. The British Labour Government, administering a country where 100,000 tons of fertiliser is used annually for non-agricultural purposes, made the princely offer of 5,000 tons at world market prices (which were three times higher than domestic British prices). The rich farmers of Europe and the United States were not prepared to allow their respective governments to jeopardise their profit margins for the sake of preventing starvation any more than the rich farmers of Bangladesh and India.

However, the heart of the problem is not simply the rich farmer, but the system of which he is a characteristic representative. The American Government is not the creature of its farmers. It was deliberate policy by the American Government to take out of wheat production one hectare in every five during the 1960s (land that, it is estimated, would have produced between 50 and 80 million tons of food) to prevent the income of farmers declining if food prices dropped. It was a policy that required high stocks to offset possible high prices, and as a by-product of this, the US Government helped to stabilise world prices. The policy was to prevent 'surpluses', but on a world scale, there has never been in the history of mankind a real surplus, only a surplus that could not be sold at current income levels. When world prices increased, the American government saw the opportunity for much larger profits if output could be increased. So, again as an act of deliberate policy, it 'freed' the domestic producers to grow as much as they liked and ran down stocks. Without the stocks, any quite small variation in the world's production can produce staggering increases in prices, and vice versa. The old wild boom-slump pattern was re-established.

The same exercise is now under way for American rice. At the moment, the United States grows about 2 per cent of the world's rice, but provides nearly a quarter of the world's exports. The growers are protected from domestic price decline by limits on their output under a quota system, fortified by high stocks. But world prices are high and rising while the profits are restricted to the rice farmers of Texas, Louisiana and California. Other farmers are eager to break into what the US Agriculture Secretary calls 'vicious little monopolies'. A bill is now before Congress to 'free the market'. If it succeeds, then the same sequence of events that has happened in wheat will follow in rice.

Control of such a large share of world foodstuff exports confers great power. As Mr. Butz put it, food 'is a tool in the kit of American diplomacy'. The current crisis provides the United States, as the *Financial Times* noted (Nov. 6th, 1974), with 'an opportunity to reassert its influence' in the world. At the Rome World Food Conference, the US Government was anxious to reassure the gathering that 'With no acreage or marketing controls, and *with strong price incentives,* we fully expect that 1975 will bring a renewed

upward curve in our breadgrains, feedgrains and soyabeans (US Agriculture Secretary, Nov. 4th, Brussels; my emphasis). But if the 'price incentives' are strong, then the price of the output will not affect the problem; American farmers can double their output and still the Bengalis or the Ethiopians will starve. The US Government firmly resisted any infringement of the right of its farmers to exploit the scarcity, but urged that everyone else should pay, buying the grain at the going price and then giving it away to the hungry. In particular, the US was anxious that the so-called 'new rich', the oil producers, should pay the lion's share, thus in one move recapturing what the oil consumers had lost (and indeed, thereby securing a share of the oil revenues paid by those most affected, the European powers). The plight of the dying became no more than the decorative pretext to 'recycle' the oil revenues and so reconquer the rebellious oil powers. The rebels were to be corralled into financing what one delegate called 'a wonderful guaranteed market for US farmers'. More succintly, the Conference newspaper described the American proposals as: 'we'll play, you pay'.

Few other Governments emerged with much more credit. Protecting the German or the French or the British farmers took priority over feeding the starving. Mr. Peart, on behalf of the British Labour Government, suddenly discovered that

> I believe a lot of people in Britain are not eating enough. I do not want malnutrition to appear in Britain.

Britain, therefore, could not quickly reduce its herds to release the grain to feed Bengalis. Of course, he is right and there are people suffering in Britain. But neither he nor his Government will do anything about that. The argument is strictly for the consumption of the Romans, not the English.

4. The Alternative Responses

Much ingenuity has been exercised to explain the famine without referring to the price of food and the income of the buyers. We are entering, it seems, a second Ice Age. There has been peculiarly poor weather. Raw materials are running out. The people of the West are universally greedy. There are too many of us, and so on.

The problem is smaller and larger. Food is only one thread in the single cloth of the world economy. There are not too many people. Nor is there too little food. There is only too many people without the right income to buy the food. But that is a classical condition of the system within which we live. The inadequate income is itself the product of the world economy and the maldistribution of power. The world system, despite its unprecedented wealth, is incapable of employing its entire labour force at wages above subsistence. Redistribution could achieve that end, but is utopian within the present political order.

Meanwhile, history does not stop. The price of Malaya's rubber exports has collapsed, and there are riots in Kuala Lumpur. Zambia's copper price has fallen, and Mr. Kaunda is driven into the unlikely embrace of Mr. Smith of Rhodesia and Mr. Vorster of South Africa. There are food riots in India, and the Government dutifully increases its police and military

expenditure—if it cannot feed its people, at least it can kill them swiftly. Indian expenditure on its central police has increased 52 times over in the past twenty-four years, and State (or provincial) police spending doubles every ten years. Meanwhile, the rate of economic growth, starved of resources, stagnates or declines. In Pakistan, police expenditure is said to have increased 28 times over since Mr. Bhutto came to power. With more policemen, there must be more prisoners. As Amnesty recently reported, there are possible 25,000 political prisoners held in the prisons of one State, West Bengal, most of them without charge or trial. Meanwhile, the Government of India continues to increase its military expenditure—it has increased five times over since the early 1960s (at an average rate of 17 per cent per year). This provides further means to maintain civil order and the capacity of the rich farmers to profit undisturbed by the hungry, as well as the occasional circus stunts of nuclear explosions and a satellite launching next year.

But the reaction of the South Asian powers is again only copying their more powerful brethren. The Western powers are so heavily armed already, they do not need to expand their weaponry with quite the same alacrity. They hold the lion's share of annual world military expenditure which is running at over £83,000 million at 1970 prices (or £24 per head of the world's population). The British, a fairly minor warlord, spend five and a half per cent of their Gross National Product on the means to kill (or £70 per head of the population). A tiny fraction of this enormous expenditure could have meant that those who died in the famine were still alive today.

The four largest arms traders—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and France—have a flock of salesmen eager to demonstrate the means by which the Government, if not the people, of India can be saved from disaster. The moral issues are tricky, but as Mr. Healey for the Labour Government in 1966 showed, a skilful man can thread his way through the rocks:

> While the Government attaches the highest importance to making progress in the field of arms control and disarmament, we must also take what practical steps we can to ensure that this country does not fail to secure its rightful (sic) share of this valuable commercial market.

Britain's sales of £500 million is of some significance when one reflects on its need to buy grain to feed its cattle. Indeed, since arms sales to economically backward countries are now the growth area of the arms trade, they are possibly subsidising Western food consumption.

However, the hypocrisy of Western political leaders is of no great significance beside the scale of the crisis. There was little enough hope of economic development before, but now that the world is moving to—at best—stagnation, there is no hope at all. The influenza which London is supposed to catch when Wall Street contracts a cold, becomes double pneumonia for the cities of the backward countries. Ensuring the survival of the local Government and its friends takes priority over all other considerations, including mere hunger or unemployment.

Yet there is no technical problem. It is technically feasible for India to double its food output. It is technically feasible for Bangladesh to control

its water courses so that there is no flooding as there was last year, or typhoon disasters as in 1970. It is technically feasible to release from the tsetse fly a cultivable acreage in Africa larger than that in North America. It is technically feasible to create a vast cultivated acreage in Latin America. The oil and climatic conditions of the Amazon Valley are not so dissimilar to those of Bangladesh, but the Bengalis are not there to cultivate the rice. There are hosts of technically feasible schemes. But they are not profitable for those who make decisions on such questions. The capital is therefore not available. The ingenuity of the planners must then be exercised solely on those few schemes that can produce a profit for those who control the capital. The *Sunday Times* (Nov. 10, 1974) comment on the Rome Conference applies here also:

> When the widely predicted emergency comes, and because there are no adequate stocks in reserve, tens of millions of people starve to death, one trusts they will understand why.

No mechanism exists whereby the technical suggestions can be executed, or the genuine compassion that exists can be translated into action. Indeed, in both cases, any action would be defeated if it looked like affecting the problem significantly since it would inevitably affect profit margins. The provision of free grain ultimately affects the price of traded grain.

The power to profit links the rich peasants of Rangpur, the Chicago grain merchants, the East Anglian farmers, and their respective governments. Each of them is not in sole command, so that in some unexpected swing of the market, one of them can also be affected. But they are part of a structure, the product of which is, in the coming circumstances of the world economy, sporadic famine. It is a problem of power, and the basis of the power depends upon keeping isolated from each other the poor of Rangpur, of New York city, of the bidonvilles of Paris or the slums of Birmingham. The law keeps them separate, and increasingly so as the economies of the world weaken—immigration controls are being universally strengthened in the industrialised countries. In the past, the illusion of some common 'national interest' was sustained by the fact that more people in the industrialised countries benefited. But now the mists are clearing once more, to show the same embattled classes as before. In the last great crisis of the system before the war, the poor failed to break through. This time they must if the starving are to be helped. Then we can talk of freeing people instead of freeing markets.

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THE IMPEACHMENT OF RICHARD M. NIXON

by Elie Flatto

'WILL Nixon be impeached, and if so, should his impeachment be carried live on the television networks?' This was the crucial political question threshed about endlessly in newspaper articles, scholarly books, radio and television debates during the spring and summer of 1974 before Nixon's fateful decision to resign rendered it obsolete. What this question overlooked was that in the two years prior to Nixon's resignation an impeachment-process had in fact been going on in which television played a key *descriptive* as well as *determinative* role, as the traditional political legalistic concept of an impeachment of yesteryear no longer proved relevant to our day and age.

To a very large extent, the phenomenon of Nixon's resignation from Presidential office would not have been possible without the continuous non-stop televised disclosures of the Watergate scandal and, more particularly, without the televising of the Watergate Hearings conducted by Senator Ervin's Committee during the spring of 1973. Interestingly enough, the myth that the communications media were responsible for Nixon's downfall was accepted by the Soviet press, and when Senator Ervin's Committee first went to work on the Watergate scandal, many Conservatives and Nixon loyalists of the Archie-Bunker stamp thought that a conspiracy was afoot by the left-wing Establishment, of which the communications media formed a basic nucleus, to cheat Nixon of the victory at the polls, as if the elitists, totally dissatisfied with the imbecility indicated by the majority of people in preferring Nixon to McGovern, tried to circumvent the popular vote through devious means. (Had not members of the Left already indicated in the 60s that they would resort to extra-legal means to accomplish their revolutionary purposes?)

The alienation of effete elitists from middle America had been the major theme of the Agnew-Nixon administration for years! Was there any truth to these conspiratorial charges? And did the Nixon loyalists really believe them? I don't think so! They were merely a rationalisation behind which was masked a far deeper anxiety. The real motive for the reluctance of middle America to confront the Watergate scandal in 1973 sprang from a deep-seated belief, sustained for hundreds of years, in the omnipotency of power, the infallibility of authority. For the majority of Americans, the idea that their government could be fallible whether with regard to Vietnam or Watergate was psychologically insupportable; and it was far easier to believe that the evidence disseminated by the communications media was doctored and contrived. In the contest between authority and reality, the former triumphed. ('We are out to get the President', McCord's lawyer quoted McCord's associates as saying, as if this shibboleth were all that was necessary to discredit the incriminating evidence surrounding Nixon.)

'The Heavens will not fall down!' Senator Ervin repeated talismanically to allay popular anxiety as his committee pried ever deeper into White

House secrets. (Interestingly, Senator Ervin and other senators made it a point to stress in their opening statements that a challenge to White House power was not their intention.)

To impeach Nixon! To impeach Presidential power! The one implied the other; and it was because of this symbolic association that the 'impeachment' of Nixon had become so traumatic, so difficult, so protracted.

In this sense, the impeachment of Nixon was categorically different from that of Andrew Johnson where Congress tried, not to deflate power, but to prevent its growth and accumulation; where Presidential power was a historical potentiality, not a historical reality.

In Johnson's case, the impeachment aborted; in Nixon's, it succeeded, though hanging in abeyance for practically two years.

It is here, to return to our main point, that television played such an eminently important role. In the past, the impeachment of an authority-figure led for the majority of people to such anxiety and guilt that it resulted in an oppression worse than that it replaced. In many ways, the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson provided a historical myth which worked ultimately to the benefit of the Presidency, not its disadvantage. But television plays two contradictory, and yet complementary, roles simultaneously. On the one hand, it plays a revolutionary role by contrasting the *reality* of power with the *image* of power; thus no matter how skilfully Nixon used tricks, ploys, strategies or manipulations to attain power, in the electronic environment these were revealed for what they really are and were, in fact, converted into counterweapons whereby his power was neutralised and undone. Furthermore—and here is where television differs significantly from all other media—not only can TV undo the effects of power but it can also absorb, contain, and catharsize the tremendous guilt and anxiety released in the process. With each fresh confrontation, as the Watergate Hearings demonstrated, television provides a breathing space in which a shocked citizenry can regain its bearings and thereby be prepared for a fresh and even profounder confrontation with political reality, like a diver who is slowly prepared for ever greater depths than would at first have been imaginable. Nothing less than the transferal of power from the hands of a few politicians to the community at large is what an impeachment, modern-style, aims for. In such a proceeding, there is no element of punitiveness, of condemnation, of judgement; merely a confrontation of issues, with the result that if authority is not violently subverted, neither are any regressive forces set into motion, undoing the accomplishments wrought by revolutionary change.

Television differs from other media in two significant respects: 1. It aids the revolutionary process which transforms our institutions and attitudes to them. 2. It inhibits and contains the regressive forces revolutionary transformations generally generate.

At present, whenever a politician discusses an issue on a municipal or national level he does so with reference not only to its intrinsic merit but its theatrical value as well. Is not the difference between Democrat and Republican and all other left-right partisan appellations ultimately a

theatrical one? It is precisely this theatrical self-consciousness which vitiates the political process and undermines the values on which it is based. But in the case of television, as the Watergate Hearings demonstrated, the barriers between audience and actors crumble, and all members of the community become part of an Athenian agora, of a communal space, of a tribal setting in which the theatrical pose and gesture, the ringing rhetorical phrase and formula are no longer useful and credible. A politician might indeed resort to cinematic and theatrical gimmickry but under the spotlight of television either he becomes aware of the fraudulence of his posture or else others make him aware of it, forcing him into an authenticity and integrity whether he wills it or not.

Is not Nixon, the perfect theatrician and gesturer, as McGinnis so excellently described in the *Making of a President*, the perfect example of this?

Under the spotlight of television, the issue replaces the personality as the central political concern.

Where will the impeachment lead besides the presidentisation of Gerald Ford? It cannot be stressed too often that the 'impeachment' of Nixon is one of the most momentous occasions in American, and indeed world, history which really means nothing less than a total revision in human attitudes to the concept of political power. In the course of human history, there have been only a few dramatic instances where the concept of power and authority has been confronted and transformed (i.e., the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution); and I believe that the impeachment of Nixon provides still another important illustration inasmuch as the impeachment of Nixon means far, far more than the removal of one specific individual from office. Now many in Congress and elsewhere have called for Nixon's blood as if his impeachment was only a replica of previous impeachments without focusing on the changes wrought in modern impeachment processes whereby punishment becomes irrelevant and whereby the confronting of the issue, that and that alone, is of paramount importance. (If the question is raised, 'Why should the President get away with a crime for which an ordinary citizen should be punished?' the only plausible reply might be, 'Why should an ordinary criminal be punished for a crime a President can get away with?') During the last few moments of his Administration, Nixon shed his iron mask, and showed that if a revolution can elevate a peasant to human stature by stripping him of his servile mask, it can do the same for a king by stripping him of his royal mask, thereby creating a communal, non-hierarchised space in which the two might meet, not as antagonists, but as equals. The Watergate issue has been confronted, confronted honestly, totally, and completely; and only by relinquishing regressive concerns with punishment can the American people benefit from the enormous changes which have occurred in an extremely short space of time and carry them forth to new levels of consciousness and awareness.

On January 3rd, 1975 three of Ex-President Nixon's close associates, Attorney-General John Mitchell, Chief-of-Staff H. R. Haldeman and Domestic Affairs Adviser John Ehrlichman were found guilty at the Watergate trial, which opened on October 1st, 1974. They were released on bail and lodged notice of appeal. *Editor.*

THE REFERENDUM

by Russell Johnston, M.P.

IN January Harold Wilson ended speculation and made it clear that the Government intends to hold a Referendum on whether or not Britain is to remain a member of the EEC on the basis of the renegotiation of the terms of entry accepted in 1972.

On the face of it, a Referendum seems a highly democratic method of making decisions and since its supporters are portraying it as such it is relevant to ask why we have not had referenda before and why many people in and out of politics, myself included, are against the introduction of referenda into our form of government.

Firstly, it is true that a number of perfectly democratic countries throughout the world use referenda—countries like Switzerland, Ireland, Denmark, Australia. But in each case these countries have a written constitution; and the circumstances in which referenda may take place are clearly laid down. In other words it is not a question of the Government of the day holding a referendum at a time to suit its convenience, about a subject of its choosing. If a referendum is to have a chance of constituting a genuine act of popular choice, clearly the people, not the Government, must possess the means to initiate the referendum.

Secondly, there is the problem of where you draw the line. It is an indisputable fact that those who argue in favour of referenda almost without exception do so not because they want to improve democracy but because they want to see the law changed to bring it in line with their own views and because they believe that a mass vote might achieve this. Public opinion polls suggest that the majority of the public are in favour of capital punishment; so the pro capital punishment lobby argue for a referendum. On the other hand, although the anti-abortion lobby is extremely active and this is equally a matter of life and death, I have never heard them call for a referendum, presumably because public opinion polls show a clear majority in favour of the existing law.

And so on the EEC the left-wing of the Labour Party has persuaded the Labour Government to hold a referendum not because of its great love for democracy but because it hopes to get its own way and get Britain out of the Community. No Labour left winger would advocate a referendum on the wholesale extensions of nationalisation, in which he believes, because again repeated opinion polls show clearly that this would be resoundingly rejected.

It is very revealing that none of the advocates of referenda as a shining tool of democracy has ever said a single word about the burning need to reform our own grossly undemocratic electoral system. Mr Wedgwood Benn is only in favour of trusting the people if he thinks there is some chance that they may agree with him. Neither he nor any of the Labour anti-marketeers seem to think that there was anything wrong with the last Election giving Labour 50% of the seats in Parliament for 39% of votes in

the country. And in Scotland the position is worse—Labour polled 36% of the votes and obtained 57% of the seats. And these are the people who prate about giving the will of the people free expression!

Thirdly, while it is clear that those who advocate referenda are not doing so in order to improve the democratic system and give people more say but as an expedient to further their own designs, it is necessary to look objectively at the device and contrast it as a means of arriving at important decisions with the system of representative Parliamentary democracy under which we now operate. Obviously no human system of government can be flawless and whatever you do mistakes and misjudgements will happen. It is my conviction that the fact that M.P.s are not elected to the Commons in proportion to the votes cast is a grave weakness in our system. An election in which Liberals poll 18% of the votes but obtain only 2% of the seats can in no conceivable way be considered just. But the basic concept whereby men and women elected for periods of time to use their judgement after careful reflection seems to me much more likely to create the conditions in which informed and balanced decisions will be made than the dialogue of the streets where passions whipped up by demagogues may obscure vitally important facts and short-term fears over-ride long term advantages. I remember in the '60s Sir Keith Joseph at a Tory Women's Conference being asked to support a referendum on capital punishment. He said that he would, provided that everyone who voted read the two Royal Commission Reports on the subject which he had read. This is not an elitist argument. I do not take my car to a garage or consult a lawyer or a doctor because I believe I am incapable, given time, of acquiring the knowledge which would enable me to deal with these matters myself but, unless I am prepared to give time, I hesitate. In 1972 an opinion poll revealed that only 13% of the population could name the then six countries of the EEC.

Finally, there are many serious difficulties in regard to the mechanics of any referendum which, however you tackle them, cast doubt on the whole procedure. In theory, this Referendum will not be about the basic aims of the EEC, as set out in the Treaties, but about the new terms negotiated by the Labour Party. In practice it will be a simple gut test of the people's attitude to association with the continent and ironically much of the argument will centre on the reduction in the sovereign powers of Parliament; ironically because the Referendum will reduce them more effectively than anything else and set a precedent for their further reduction.

What percentage of the total vote will be considered binding on the country as a whole? Given a low poll, it is possible that a minority of the electorate could commit the Government one way or the other. Will the issue be decided by a simple or by a qualified majority? Is it reasonable that such a critical issue could be decided by as little as 50 or 100 votes? And how will the Referendum affect Members of Parliament? Mr Wilson himself has admitted that a decision cannot be legally binding on Parliament, though he considers that it would be difficult for Parliament to ignore a decisive vote of the electorate.

Will the votes be counted centrally or in the constituencies? Will there

be a separate count in Scotland and Wales? How much public money should be made available? Judging by the experiences of Norway, Denmark and Ireland, referendum is likely to prove an expensive affair. If we were to spend approximately the same amount on a per capita basis as Denmark, for example, we could expect to pay out something in the vicinity of £15,000,000 of public money. How is broadcasting coverage to be allocated —how much time should be given to political parties and how much, if any, to the respective pressure groups?

The list is long but taken as a whole, I hope it explains both the complications and the shortcomings of a device which seems simple and fair. Consulted by Churchill in 1945 on the question of a referendum to decide whether the coalition Government should remain in being, Clement Attlee, that great Labour Leader, had this to say: 'I could not consent to the introduction into our national life of a device so alien to all our traditions as the referendum.' In 1971, Harold Wilson, then leader of the Opposition, said: 'I oppose a Referendum. I have always done so.'

I shall vote against a referendum for just the same reasons that led them to their conclusions. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the idea has now sufficient support in Parliament to secure its passage and, that being so, I will certainly take part in the campaign which will follow.

[Russell Johnston is Liberal Member of Parliament for Inverness, Leader of the Scottish Liberal Party and a Member of the European Parliament.]

THE HINT OF AN EXPLANATION OF GRAHAM GREENE

by Leopoldo Durán

THE problem of evil and suffering is as old as the problem of sin, which is its source. The history of philosophy and theology is beset by this same problem and has failed to bring us any adequate solution, simply because we are unable to fathom the depths of the Godhead. In his book against Julian, St. Augustine writes: *'Non fuit omnino unde oriri posset malum, nisi ex bono'*. And sixteen centuries later we cannot improve on the Bishop of Hippo. We are still being nagged by the argument: If God were good, He would want His creatures to be perfectly happy; and if God were all-powerful, He would be able to bring this about. But creatures are not happy. Therefore, either God is not good, or He is not omnipotent, or He is neither.

Graham Greene read as a child *The Viper of Milan* by Marjorie Bowen, and the problem of evil and suffering was henceforth to busy his mind and later to pervade his writings.

> She had given me my pattern—religion might later explain it to me in other terms, but the pattern was already there—perfect evil walking the world where perfect good can never walk again, and only the pendulum ensures that after all in the end justice is done.[1]

In *The Hint of an Explanation*, Greene describes by means of a metaphysical parable the struggle between good and evil, between God and Satan, in the persons of an innocent child called David and an inveterate sinner called Blacker. They are the characters of a story told during 'a long train journey on a late December evening,[2] which, like the *Stamboul Train*, becomes a symbol of life. Life is 'a dreary experience' that takes us through a vast variety of themes—themes trivial and ancient as time—on our inevitable journey towards eternity.[3] On the long night journey by train the heating sometimes gives out, the light is poor and strains our eyesight, and in the many tunnels seems to leave us in complete darkness. Each of the fellow travellers is the man 'shivering in his overcoat', nibbling away at 'the same kind of dry bun'.[4] Our intelligence is that half-light making 'our view so limited', but the only light with which to gather 'hints' of so many inexplicable things. The frequent light failures symbolise for Greene the dull grey days of our lives when the mind of man seems at a loss to cope with the mystery of life. The external twinkling lights that rush by but occasionally light up the faces of the fellow passengers evoke the illumination of faith and, better still, the passing enlightenment of actual graces.

An agnostic on the train admits to his travelling companion that he does have a kind of intuition that God exists, and the extraordinary coincidences encountered during the journey serve to keep total agnosticism at bay and feed a few drops of oil to the flickering flame of his dying faith. But he adds:

> intellectually I am revolted at the whole notion of such a God who can so abandon his creatures to the enormities of Free Will . . . When you think what

> God—if there is a God—allows. It's not merely the physical agonies, but think of the corruption, even of children . . .[5]

The believer agrees that our human minds in their present condition are incapable of coping with the problem:

> Of course there is no answer here. We catch hints . . . They are not scientific evidence—or evidence at all for that matter.[6]

And he proceeds to tell the agnostic an episode from his own childhood which provided a sort of clue or 'hint' to the meaning of his life as a whole. He was born in a small village in East Anglia where there were very few Catholics and where between Catholics and Protestants there was hostility. He used to serve Mass on Sundays. But one day a certain free-thinker and marked anti-catholic, named Blacker, approached him with threats and promises and tried to get him to hand over a consecrated Host. The child took Communion and kept it in his room awaiting the arrival of Blacker. Blacker arrived one night and called up to the child to throw the Host out of the window, but the child, in spite of the terror he had for Blacker, decided not to go the full length of his profanation. He swallowed the Host wrapped in paper, and told Blacker to go away.

The passenger who tells this story of his childhood is a Catholic priest, who believes his vocation arose from that incident. The agnostic to whom he tells the story realises he is a priest only at the end of the journey when he sees his Roman collar peeping out from behind his scarf.

In this short story Satan—'The word Satan is so anthropomorphic'[7]—is personified in Blacker. The attributes of the Evil One are represented in the negative qualities of the rabid unbeliever. His very opposition to Truth is conveyed by the man's name, 'Blacker', which evokes depths of darkness. At the end of the story Blacker disappears 'into the dark'. The name of the child, David, also recalls the apparently unequal struggle with the Goliath of evil in the world and beyond the world. The promise of a toy train to the child is an apt symbol of everything that fascinates into evil, but eventually proves 'so ugly'. The tunnels, the extinguished lamps, the intense cold, and the night all conjure up the everlasting darkness and wretchedness of the Evil One. If there is light, it is that of fire: Blacker looks at the child 'flashing the one good eye'. The train itself goes off 'into the grey night'—between Light and Darkness—but shooting out behind it 'a spray of sparks'.

The Enemy is the personification of hatred: hatred for God and for man. That is why Greene repeats the word 'hatred' nine times in the story, to make sure that we understand whom Blacker symbolises. Hatred is the bond of condemnation. St. Thomas Aquinas asks whether the damned hate God, and he replies that they do because they know only the effects of divine retribution.[8] The devil surpasses them all in hatred and feeds his hatred on the envy of men who know something of God's love.[9] The pope calls himself 'the servant of the servants of God'; Blacker could be described as 'the servant of the servants of . . . '[10] Satan.

Blacker's hatred brooks no obstacle and is directed especially upon the Eucharist. The Sacrament seems so frail and so neglected that 'one could

love it as one loves an outcast or a bullied child'.[11] But in its weakness lies its conquering power.

The temptation proffered to the boy follows the lines of 'an elaborate seduction'. Blacker has—or says he has—a wonderful electric train with straight and curved railway lines, a little station with railway staff and passengers, a tunnel, a bridge, a level crossing, two signals, a buffer, and in particular a turntable.

> The tears of longing came into my eyes when I looked at the turntable. It was my favourite piece—it looked so ugly and practical and true.[12]

The whole set is offered to the child in exchange for a consecrated Host. The alternative is to be flayed alive. Here is the open sesame to all doors, and the open razor for all who refuse. The boy will not get into trouble for accepting gifts from a stranger. Blacker will send it to his father with the inscription: 'For my bank manager's little boy, from a grateful client'.[13]

Satan is an expert in the art of tempting.[14] The whistling under David's window recalls the serpent of Eden. Blacker seems to have all the odds on his side; but the tempter overshoots the mark by trying to get the child to surrender what even the child recognises and cherishes as his and the world's greatest Treasure: the Holy Eucharist. The innocent boy represents the Church subject to temptation and weakness but preserving in its heart the Treasure that no worldliness or sinfulness in its members will ever make it surrender. Greene presents the priest passenger in the train speaking of Satan as the 'thing' and God as 'the Enemy'—after the manner of C. S. Lewis in *Screwtape letters:*

> It—the 'thing'—is so continually finding the right weapon to use against its Enemy and the weapon breaks in its own breast. It sometimes seems to me so—powerless.[15]

And after telling his story, the priest comments:

> That is what I meant when I said this Thing, whatever it is, that seizes every possible weapon against God, is always, everywhere, disappointed at the moment of success.[16]

The priest sees Blacker depart with tears in his eyes:

> When I think of it now, it's almost as if I had seen that Thing weeping for its inevitable defeat. It had tried to use me as a weapon and now I had broken in its hands and it wept its hopeless tears through one of Blacker's eyes.[17]

Satan's aim was to profane the Sacrament, but the result was the grace for the boy to become a minister of the Sacrament. The problem of good and evil is a mystery, but God has the mastery.

There are other theological points to the story: fanaticism, Sacramental Presence beyond physical analysis, routine in the practice of the faith, the baffling ways of Providence, etc., but the main point—the problem of evil and suffering—is wonderfully conveyed by way of a metaphysical parable.

Love for the naked truth, freedom and independence, are guiding lines to all Graham Greene's work. He is loth to see any man cringe before another, even when the latter wears the triple tiara or bears the venerable title of 'divine'. Man in his wretchedness alone before God—that is where the light of hope must spring from.

Greene has discovered even in handbooks of theology a toeing of the line and an apparent smugness that obscures the vision of God's overwhelming Goodness and man's blissful need. In Greene's opinion, our scholastic theology has hammered out a perfect systematisation of salvific doctrine, assigning a cause to each effect and an effect to each cause, drawing a clear dividing line between 'the good' and 'the bad'. Outside this colossal grid there would seem to be nothing more to say.

NOTES

1 Graham Greene, *Collected Essays* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), pp. 18-19. *Personal Prologue*, p. 12.
2 Graham Greene, *Collected Stories* (London: The Bodley Head and Heinemann, 1972), p. 361.
3 *Stamboul Train* (London: The Bodley Head, 1960).
4 *Collected Stories*, ed. cit. p. 361.
5 *Ibid*, p. 362.
6 *Ibid*, p. 363.
7 *Ibid*, p. 363.
8 Cfr. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Supplement, q. 98.
9 *Ibid*, I, q. 114.
10 *Collected Stories*, p. 367.
11 *Ibid*, p. 373.
12 *Ibid*, p. 369.
13 *Ibid*, p. 369.
14 Cfr. St. Thomas, op. cit. I, q. 114.
15 *Collected Stories*, p. 373.
16 *Ibid*.
17 *Ibid*, pp. 374-375.

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'A NEST OF NINNIES'

The Ancient Office of Court Jester

by James Turner

THE changing face of humour, which remains ever the same! Or does it? No—and yes. The old Court jesters and village fools used similar jokes, did similar 'acts', to present day comedians and acrobats. All that is changed is the style; the clown, the audiences have become more sophisticated. When the Royal fools entertained at night their audience was the Court, who were doing exactly the same, in their way, as we do today when we switch on TV after supper. And yet not quite the same. Our humour, for the most part, is more cerebral.

Yet mountebanks, dwarfs, Merry-andrews, Jack Puddings, female jesters, the King's cock-crower, who went about the Court crowing at every hour, and whose office was (thankfully, no doubt) discontinued by George II, are the direct ancestors of our stage and circus clowns and TV comedians. It is true that not all Kings and Queens kept official comedians. There was none in Stephen's troubled reign; James II and William III did not believe in being so amused. But, when they were employed at Court, their function was carthartic. They were free to speak before there was liberty of the press, before there was a press at all. They drove away melancholy and boredom. Their 'acts' were a nightly Royal Command performance.

'If I wish to look at a fool', Seneca said, 'I have not far to go. I have only to look in a mirror'. This joke was constantly on the lips of Court fools. The alleyways of Hampton Court, Nonsuch and the Palace of Whitehall must have rocked with laughter as each new generation of courtiers heard it. The wit and buffoonery of these court jesters appears to us now as very simple, very childlike. The comedy was custard-pie (bananas would have been in great demand if they had been discovered then), the wit generally a play on words. There was the famous occasion when Archie Armstrong, the fool to Charles I, was asked to give a grace before dinner. Now Archie never liked Archbishop Laud or his church reforms. He rose and spoke, 'Great praise be to God, and little *laud* to the Devil'. He had gone too far. However much the diners laughed, Laud was not amused and, later, took his revenge.

Life at Court, for the most part, was no joke at all. The courtier, after hanging about the not-so-clean corridors of power at Hampton Court, waiting to catch the ear of the King or some influential Minister, must have longed for the evening when the jester came into his own. Henry VIII's jester, John Heywood, was a comedian who also amused Mary Tudor when she was a girl and later when she was Queen. A noble asks (so the story goes): 'How do you like my beer, is it not well-hopped?' 'So well', replied Heywood, 'that had it hopped a little further it would have hopped into water'. Which is not so different from 'Who was that lady I saw you with last night?' 'That was no lady, that was my wife', which still got a

laugh when that immortal jester Frankie Howerd used it on TV only a few weeks ago. It is all in the way it is done.

It was assumed that the Court fool could say what he liked to a King or a nobleman who employed him and in whose house he lived. They were not unlike the comedians, Bim and Bom, who, alone, after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, were allowed to criticise the regime. A kind of safety valve. Even so it depended on the tone of voice. That joke of Armstrong's about sending 'laud to the Devil' so annoyed the Archbishop that, in the end, he got him turned out of court and even threatened him with the Star Chamber, which would have been no laughing matter at all. The old court fool lived in a tight order, was obliged to wear motley, was paid a small sum in wages, was occasionally whipped for his cumbersome jokes and, although he had the freedom of the pantry (worth as much as his wages) he usually slept in the stables with the dogs.

So from Edmund Ironside, who gave the town of Walworth to his jester, Hit-hard (one of the few who became rich) in 1016, to Muckle John, in 1646, the last of the official court fools in England, the English courts and great houses must, in the evenings, have been rather like modern music-halls or circuses. Most fools were low comedians who, when they were not amusing their masters, travelled about to the monasteries in the neighbourhood enlivening dull hours with shady jests.

What really 'sent' them and for which they paid was the 'circus' clowning. When Edward II was at Woolmer, for example, he gave 20s to his clerk of the kitchen, Morris, 'Who, when the King was hunting, did ride before and often fall down from horse, whereat the King laughed greatly'. Later, when this same King was celebrating Whitsuntide in the great hall at Westminster, in 1316, he was entertained by a female jester. At dinner, that night, this 'joculatrix' rode into the hall on a closely-clipped horse and 'caracolled' round the tables, telling jokes all the time. One can imagine the lewd stories at the expense of the knights and their ladies, which had the company 'in great amusement'. As she rode off, she presented the King with a letter telling him that people were complaining that he favoured worthless persons and neglected his knights and trusty servants, of whom, obviously, the 'joculatrix' was one. Only a jester would have dared such an action. Once the lady had ridden off, no doubt, another fool—an acrobat, would have added to the merriment by performing his *saltus*, his *sufflatus*, and his *bumbulus*. Today he would have used a trampoline.

Nor was it only in courts that fools were welcome. They were part of village festivals and, indeed, some districts kept their own fools. Others raised to that distinction any 'poor natural' of the locality from whose peculiarities and infirmities they could find something to laugh at. In this much, at least, we are different today.

These are the small fry of the profession. They left no mark on history and lived as servants, bedding down in the yards and helping in the kitchens when not wanted for fooling. The most famous are named, however, as was Robert Withastaff, the head jester to Edward II. We know his name because his mother, once he had made good, came over to the Court when

it was at Baldock to admire and watch her son fooling about in all the glory of cape, bells and cock's-comb, because the King gave her, Dulcian Withastaff, ten shillings. No doubt, in view of her son's run of the larder, she ate pretty well, too.

Scogan, who was attached to the household of Edward IV, was famous. He was a student of Oriel College, Oxford, and a little above the average 'fool'. He wrote bad poetry and has been immortalised by Shakespeare who has Falstaff attack him 'at the court gate' and break his head. These fools often got as good as they gave. Scogan came from Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, and although his maxim was 'A merry heart doeth good, like a medicine', he was irreligious, avaricious and not above taking bribes. When he was, at last, driven out of Oxford, where he had been a tutor, because of his lack of decorum, he became the household fool to Sir William Neville. The knight, out of vanity, took him to Court, for he had wit, talent and education. The King was so pleased with Scogan that Sir William could do no less than to give the fellow away. He became the court buffoon (dropping the wit) and endeared himself to everyone by standing, for a long period, under a waterspout for a reward of twenty pounds.

The best known of Henry VIII's fools was Will Somers. His portrait hangs at Hampton Court. A poet of the period describes him as:

> Lean he was, hollow-eyed, as all report
> And stoop he did, too; yet in all the court
> Few men were more beloved than was this fool.

Somers, who was extremely free with the whole court, including the Maids of Honour, became famous in the plays and poems of the period. Rowland has a portrait of him in his 'Good and Bad News' and Nash in his 'Summer's Last Will and Testament'. In Rowley's chronicle play, *When you see me you know me,* Somers is shown in the way he lived at Court, how he joked with the King and, sometimes, came very near the knuckle with his jests. Here the Queen, Jane Seymour, is represented as looking 'bigger' at the jester. 'But I care not', said Will to the King, 'an she bring thee a young prince. Will Somers mayhap will be his fool when you are both dead and rotten'.

Sir Thomas More, whose puns the King much appreciated, took a fool himself. He was a man called Patteson, an ex-mummer, and half mad from falling off a church steeple. He was poor, shabby and droll and exactly suited to fooling with his master after a hard day with affairs of state, or theological research. When More fell out of favour with the King, and went to the Tower, he cared for Patteson in the same way as Wolsey had cared for his fool, Patch. Just before he died, Wolsey sent Patch as a gift to the King. More gave Patteson to the Lord Mayor of London, to whom he is said to have offered the standard fool's jest, on one April 1st. 'I told my Lord Mayor overnight, that if he looked for a fool this morning, he must look in the glass'.

Richard Tarleton, who died in 1588, was Queen Elizabeth's favourite clown. His talent lay in impromptu doggerel. Attached to the company of Queen's players, he wrote for them, *The Seven Deadly Sins.* His sayings and witticisms were collected into several volumes after his death, called

Tarleton's Jests, and he is said to have been the Yorick of Hamlet's soliloquy.

As court jester, Tarleton became famous and as influential as any official who ever wore the clown's suit. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says that, 'when Queen Elizabeth was serious, I dare not say sullen, and out of good humour, he could *undumpish* her at his pleasure'. He was yet capable of the 'sick' joke. One of the ladies-in-waiting was suffering from a rash on her face and was in such pain that she refused to drink wine. Tarleton screamed at the company, 'A murrain on that face which makes all the body fare the worse for it', referring to the fact that her disease put the rest of the court off its food. He drove the lady from the table and was, himself, rewarded with shouts of laughter. Tarleton died in 1558, at his lodgings in Haliwell Street, Shoreditch. He was so popular for his acting that the common people used to speak of the 'year of Tarleton's death', as they spoke of 'the year of the Armada'.

About the same time as Tarleton flourished there lived another clown, Chester. He must have been a rather unpleasant person. He found more fun in annoying the courtiers by sarcasm than in amusing them with his wit. Especially was he sarcastic at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Knollys. They were to have their revenge. Inviting Chester to dinner, they filled him up with drink and plied him with food which he ate in great quantities. Then they dragged him to a corner of the courtyard and bricked him up to the chin. They kept him there for many hours, threatening to brick him up altogether. Finally, by taking a solemn oath never again to joke or make a sarcasm at their expense, the fool was released, only to be immortalised, after his death, by Ben Johnson in his *Everyman Out of His Humour*, where he is described as 'scurrilous and profane; rich in absurd similies and audacious lies; a good feast-hound or banquet-beagle, a thorough parasite and glutton, and a stupendous swiller of sack'.

The fool was easily recognised, and could be avoided, for he wore a motley coat, with a girdle, bells at the skirt and at the elbows. His close-fitting breeches had legs of different colours. Over his head and shoulders was a hood and he was crowned with the usual cock's-comb. Some jesters carried a staff with a fool's head at the end, or a stick with a bladder with a few peas in it. Such was the costume of the comic 'fool', the knock-about. The more learned, witty 'fool' wore a long gown-like dress, sometimes of very costly velvet, adorned with a yellow fringe, because yellow was the 'fool's' colour as blue was that of a servant.

Nor was their freedom quite without discipline. There was Jack Oates, the fool to Sir William Hollis. Once, when an earl came to visit Sir William he, the knight, greeted Lady Hollis with a kiss. Jack Oates, in full flow, gave him a box on the ear. This was regarded as anything but funny and Jack was punished with a whipping, a pastime often thought by those who watched it as of greater mirth than the fun of the jester who suffered.

Archie Armstrong, who I have already mentioned for his baiting of Archbishop Laud, was born in Scotland and first came to notice for sheep-stealing. He became a favourite with James I, but was loathed by most courtiers for his insolence and mischievous behaviour. Indeed, he went out

of his way to excite foolish jealousies between the King and Henry, Prince of Wales. However, in 1623, he went with Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Spain. Here his behaviour was more intolerable than ever. There was the famous occasion when the Infanta was praising the gallantry of the Duke of Bavaria who, with a small force, had routed the much larger army of James's son-in-law, Frederick the Pfalzgraff. 'Oh', cried Archie, with absolutely no tact at all, 'I will tell you of a stranger circumstance. Is it not more singular that one hundred and forty ships should have sailed from Spain to attack England, and that not ten of them should have returned to tell what became of the rest?' He went even further, criticising the expedition's conduct to Buckingham's face. Buckingham, in anger, said he would have him hanged, to which Archie replied, 'Dukes have often been hanged for insolence, but fools never for talking'.

Nevertheless, he was, on 11 March, 1637, banished from the court on Laud's complaint. It was ordered that 'He should be carried to the porter's lodge, his coat pulled over his ears, and kicked out of court, and never to enter within the gates again'. But Archie had saved money. He went away to Arthuret, in Cumberland, where he was born and where he had a small estate. He married Sibella Bell, in 1646 and, fooling to the end, died on All-Fools' Day, April 1st, in the same year.

Muckle John, the last official court fool in England, succeeded Archie. Though he cared nothing for money, a great deal was spent on him. We have a list of the clothing bought for him:

> A long coat and suit of scarlet-coloured serge, £10.10.6. One pair of crimson silk hose, and one pair of gaiters and roses, 61s.
>
> For a pair of silk and silver garters, and roses and gloves suitable, and for two rich feathers, one red, the other white, 50s. Stag's leather gloves fringed with gold and silver.
>
> A hat-band. One pair of perfumed gloves lined with sables, 5s.

There were, naturally, no court fools under the Commonwealth. The official jester was dead. Nevertheless, when Charles II was restored, fooling did not go out. In 1667, on 13 February, Pepys could write in his Diary, 'Mr. Brisbane tells me, in discourse, that Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of King's Fool or Jester, and may revile or jeere anybody the greatest person, without offense, by privelege of his place'.

But Killigrew never held a patent as official fool. He was the Master of Revels and succeeded Herbert, in 1673.

So they all come down history. Clod, Elizabeth's second clown; Whiston, Queen Caroline's eccentric 'divine'; 'lean Leonard'; Jack Miller; Tom Derry, Anne of Denmark's fool; Jemmy Camber, fool to James I's grandfather; Jeffrey Hudson, Henrietta Maria's dwarf clown. Who knows, since the face of humour is ever changing, ever remaining the same, that we shall not see, at some future Coronation or Royal Wedding, a clown such as John Heywood who, as Mary's coronation procession passed St. Paul's, jumped up from his place under a vine and amused not only the Sovereign but the crowds by delivering a comic oration?

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

BUKHARIN

Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography 1888-1938. Stephen Cohen. Wildwood House. £4.50.

Nikolai Bukharin's baby face with its high-domed forehead and wide gentle eyes haunts the smoky photographs of Bolshevik history. What is his historical significance, and how can one explain his meteoric rise and fall? He was the archetype of the revolutionary intellectual. The son of a teacher, Bukharin had a family background not unlike Lenin's, except that the former's was more emphatically cosmopolitan and Muscovite. Fluent in French and German and widely travelled, he excelled as a major theoretician of Soviet Marxism and became well known among socialist intellectuals in the 1920s for his fluent polemics; *Imperialism and the World Economy, The ABC of Communism* (with Preobrazhensky), *Historical Materialism,* and *The Economic Theory of the Leisure Class.* But he also possessed the characteristic weaknesses of the intellectual in politics; a tendency to become infatuated with grandiose ideas, an equivocal attitude to violence—rationalising its use to dispose of political opponents yet eschewing any personal involvement in bloodshed, a naïve confidence that a theoretical formula could overcome deficiencies in production and administration, and above all an instability of commitment which suggests more than a suspicion of opportunism. Lenin did not allow his fondness for Bukharin to blind him to his friend's 'devilish instability' in politics and his constant ambivalence and malleability:

> 'We know how soft Bukharin is. . . . We know that more than once he has been called in jest "soft-wax." It appears that any "unprincipled" person, any "demagogue", can make an impression on this "soft-wax".'

Stephen Cohen has provided the first full-length scholarly biography to be published in any language, and he goes a long way to satisfying the growing curiosity about his subject. Stalin made Bukharin an 'unperson' and his party hacks wrote him out of Soviet history after he had been villified as a spy and traitor and a 'Rightist monstrosity' in league with Trotsky and foreign capitalism. It was not until 1962 that the Party dismissed the charges that Bukharin had been a spy and a terrorist. Yet, as Cohen observes, the conservatism of the present leadership has still not permitted any proper historical revaluation of Bukharin in the U.S.S.R. Western historians have been particularly interested in Bukharin's role in the leadership struggles, and the drama of his show trial in 1938. On the New Left many have seen Bukharin as an isolated precursor of 'socialism with a human face'. This reputation rests mainly on his peasant-orientated gradualist programme of economic development which some believe presented a humane alternative to the brutal collectivisation and crash industrialisation which Stalin began in 1929. Cohen does not notably add to our knowledge of these Party disputes, and his treatment of the earlier Left Opposition period is very sketchy indeed, but he has built up a convincing and detailed picture of Bukharin's climb to power.

In 1917 Bukharin became, at 30 years of age, a candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, one of the eight top men in the Bolshevik government. In 1927, after helping Stalin to oust Trotsky and other possible rivals, he became, for a brief spell, almost a co-leader with Stalin.

Among the qualities that helped his phenomenally rapid rise, three stand out. He was an outstanding propagandist and speaker, with a chameleon-like ability to change the colour of his message. With disarming sincerity he switched from extreme Left Oppositionism and anti-Statism in the First World War to fulsome support for War Communism, centralisation, and militarisation, in the Civil War. He slid, apparently effortlessly, from passionate advocacy of world revolution to his own version of 'socialism in one country' based on a long-term co-operative alliance with the peasantry—a policy he described as 'riding to socialism drawn by a peasant's nag'. Secondly, he was an erudite and agile Marxist theoretician who took over from Lenin the task of guardian and interpreter of Marxist ideology for the Soviets in the 1920s. Above all, there was the intimate bond of affection with Lenin which survived many doctrinal disputes. Lenin may even have once envisaged Bukharin as his successor. Early in the Civil War he asked Trotsky: 'If the White Guards kill you and me, will Bukharin and Sverdlov be able to manage?' (He assumed Sverdlov would succeed Trotsky.)

In the event, Bukharin was fatally compromised and outmanoeuvred by Stalin in the leadership struggles. He did not begin to acquire the power base or the ruthless aggression to seriously challenge Stalin. While he had compromised himself by aiding Stalin against Trotsky and by adding his authority to the campaign of lies and villification against the Left, he seemed unaware of his ominous dependence upon Stalin. In the 1929 grain crisis there is ample evidence that Bukharin sincerely believed that the course of collectivisation and ruthless coercion of the peasantry was tragically mistaken, but by then he had only articles and speeches left to fight with. When these were suppressed and Stalin removed him from power, Bukharin's weakness and total subservience to the Party prevented him from the smallest possibility of rebellion.

Stalin's liquidation of Bukharin in 1938 was an act of motiveless cruelty, for Bukharin could not have conceivably constituted any threat to him after 1930. Bukharin ultimately sacrificed his integrity and courage in obedience to the party-god. It would be false to assume that Bukharin was the 'lost leader' of Soviet Communism, but it is difficult to deny the abiding fascination of both the legend and its subject.

PAUL WILKINSON

MR. WILKES

The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes. Louis Kronenberger. New English Library. £3.25.

With all his shortcomings—and they were legion—Wilkes was a fascinating character, a wit of the highest calibre, a fighter for the underdog and for himself, a combination of the vices and virtues of a Casanova and a Hampden, impudent and audacious, insincere and irresponsible, and yet endowed with a charm that attracted both men and women, and a courage that enabled him to challenge the King and his ministers when he considered wrong was being committed. Mr. Kronenberger has described this extraordinary man in a most absorbing book that criticises and does abundant justice to him, at the same time providing with clarity, vividness, and accuracy the essential background of 18th century society and politics.

When attempting any assessment of Wilkes it is important to distinguish between the private man and the public figure; it is not easy to reconcile the worldly, witty, spendthrift Wilkes whose profligate behaviour has scandalised many people from his own day to this with the historical role he played. He

was ahead of his times but the issues over which he fought were clear-cut and understood by the ordinary folk who noisily supported him with the cry of 'Wilkes and Liberty!'. What is important about him is the symbol he became and the power that symbol exercised. He took a dynamic part in such issues as the illegality of general warrants, the sanctity of electors choosing their representatives in parliament, the freedom of the press, and the reform of parliament.

Wilkes's public career undoubtedly suffered grave harm and was sullied by his private life. Even as a student at the University of Leyden his wild and daring profligacy was the subject of comment; his marriage was a disaster; and his membership of the notoriously carnal Hell-Fire Club raised a few eyebrows even among the socialites of that age, as did his printing of the obscene *Essay on Woman*. The critical point of his career was, however, his attack on the King's speech in the *North Briton No. 45*, for which temerity he was expelled from parliament, spending the next five years abroad. On his return in 1768 he was sentenced to 22 months in gaol. Shortly before the expiry of his prison sentence he was elected an alderman of the City of London, and some years later became Lord Mayor. As a City man he curbed press-gang operations and brought more humane treatment of prisoners and the poor.

Mr. Kronenberger considers that Wilkes was not at heart a radical. He had become a tremendous symbol, but the symbol did not coincide with the self. 'Never perhaps did so blatant a cynic become so embattled a reformer. Never did a man called by so many bad names stand for so much that had very great meaning.' Later in life he tended to dismiss the turbulent past with a shrug as something that had now become history. This was not so much an act of tergiversation as a reversion to what he always was, a picturesque cultivated 18th century type who was socially acceptable in any worldly setting—his host of friends included many eminent personages of that age. On one occasion in his later years an old woman, on seeing him in the street, called out 'Wilkes and Liberty!' to which he answered: 'Be quiet, you old fool, that was all over long ago.'

S. F. WOOLLEY

RECENT VERSE

There Were No Lovely Birds. John Taylor. Workshop Press. 35p.
The Burial of Crispin Pike. Nick Malone. Introduction by William Empson. Workshop Press. (Limited edition. Price on application.)
The Arc of the Sun. Anthony L. Johnson. Ember Press. 25p.
A Truce With Time. Mary Stella Edwards. Red Candle Press. 30p.
Something Never Shone Before. Philip Goddard. (Privately published from 28A Church Road, Guildford, Surrey.) 80p.
God's A Good Man. Monica Furlong. Mowbray's Press. £2.25.
From The White Room. David Grubb. Rondo Publications. £1.50.

As may be judged from the above list, a number of good and representative books of recent verse have appeared in the 1974 summer and autumn lists. John Taylor's *There Were No Lovely Birds* is an extremely stimulating collection ranging from the sharply humorous to the deliberate, earnest and argumentative. 'Looking at Look' expresses his thought and idiom:

> You look where you're looking
> do you know what lies
> at the back of every look
> our blind spot . . .

The Burial of Crispin Pike comes with the distinguished introduction of William Empson in which he is obviously confused by Mr. Malone's occasional

'stifling, self-centred and pokey effect', but he recognises the poem as outside Pike and saying something which could hardly be meant as a description of the whole various poem. This is a description of both Mr. Empson and the poet and derives from the confused language and thought throughout the work.

Mr. Johnson is impressive in the imaginative grasp of his art. He sees tombs on the edge of a forest as a school-ful of white-faced children in a passing train. His language is tense adoration in *The Arc of the Sun.*

Using skilful rhyming techniques, Miss Stella Mary Edwards in *A Truce With Time* creates some delightfully vivid poems of nature and the emotions. A number of her poems have appeared in *Contemporary Review* and tributes have been paid to her work by some notable critics, including Leonard Woolf.

Another accomplished poet whose work has appeared recently in *Contemporary Review* is David Grubb. His new collection, *From The White Room,* attractively printed and presented, ranges widely; from the deeply felt title poem to some extremely evocative nature poems, as well as the interesting 'Studying Lawrence's Snake On A Winter Afternoon'.

Totally different is Philip Goddard's *Something Never Shone Before.* Mr. Goddard does not rely upon the power of the poems to communicate his message but prefaces his collection with an Introduction and ends it with a Note On The Author in which he states that ' . . . this year's eruption of poems may well be the first step in the larger whole . . . ' Whether or not this will be the case, his work is fresh and vivid and the widest extremes of unlikely subjects have prompted his poetic impulse.

Perhaps most important is the new collection by Monica Furlong. Miss Furlong is an experienced and accomplished poet and of her work on the cover 'blurb' Sir John Betjeman has written: 'These poems by Monica Furlong are very good. She is always readable, skilful and surprisingly tolerant . . . ' Readers of *God's A Good Man* will be likely to agree with the Poet Laureate's judgment. Miss Furlong herself in her own introductory note suggests that the poems centre round several dominating themes applicable to her own life and interests, and for this purpose they are divided into groups. But in fact explanations are unnecessary as, almost without exception, the poems have the power and technical excellence to speak for themselves.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

ON SEEING THE WOOD AS WELL AS THE TREES

Constructions. Michael Frayn. Wildwood House. £2.95.

Michael Frayn has cast his philosophy in a form which has old and honourable antecedents, that of a series of numbered, closely connected observations like aphorisms. But simply to characterise his volume in this way would be to do him a serious injustice, for his distillations, if read like a novel, constitute a cliff-hanger which the reader must stay with to the end. The difference between this and the author's more familiar novel form is made apparent when he says: 'You can read a novel without wondering anxiously all the time whether it's true or false'. The filtering out of meaning from experience, particularly his own experience, is his purpose, and his aim is true.

Deeply versed in the explanations which in our own time some philosophers as well as some scientists commonly give of a man's perception of the external world, Michael Frayn promises and delivers a view of life which takes serious account of the fact that a man is, to himself, the centre of his particular terrain and that he is therefore not only a factor but a prime mover in his interpretation

of the perceptions he receives and regards as true. Mr. Frayn is chiefly concerned to make sense of the world and of what happens in it: 'We are significance-seeking organisms . . . we crave meaning as we crave warmth', he says. 'Each of us develops a style—another attempt to order the chaos. Not by discovering an order in it, but by imposing one upon it, like a tank laying its own tracks across the wilderness. A man dominates his environment by establishing a unifying principle—himself'.

Could it then be said that to establish 'what is the case' is simply to observe and 'place constructions on' the appearance of things? Surely not, for whilst the appeal to knowledge is the appeal to what is the case, 'the appeal to faith opens up worlds which are not the case'. To assert their truth involves us in creating them. To put it another way (and reading this book tempts one continually to put it in different ways), explanations do not depend on checking by sense-data but on some prior assumption which the perceptions reveal either partially or not at all. For, like Heraclitus, we never step into the same river twice; like Pascal, 'we never remain in the present'. The ebb and flow of perception is the closest thing we know to perpetual motion but we cannot reproduce it. Mr. Frayn's book, as it proceeds, vividly conveys this sense of motion with an immediacy which is heightened by skilfully chosen moments at which to say, 'Wait a minute. Now what appears?'

The figures who appear are like the characters in a Morality Play. There are memories, dreams, legends, illusions, delusions—'To a philosopher, delusion . . . is a *case* of perception'—and constantly on and off stage comes paradox. What on earth is *he* going to do? Perhaps upset the others whose plans are so carefully laid; or uncover what the upper air contains which none of them suspected. 'Our ethics, too, end in paradox', the author says in Act 51, 'the ultimate aims to which we sacrifice our immediate interests get more and more remote, more lost in the clouds, the higher we go—until at last they cease to exist altogether'.

Mr. Frayn is not, however, lost in the clouds. Whilst recognising in Wittgenstein's first proposition, in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,* the essence of the empirical tradition—'The world is everything that is the case'—he shows the assertion to be insupportable without a recognition of what is not the case, and indeed of man's desire to dream of what might be the case. He affirms and celebrates the liberty of a man, amid constraints, to choose the forms of his own expression of brotherhood, unity, solidarity or love. 'We pick out', he says, 'among the transient feelings the regular pattern of happiness (of love, of piety) to give ourselves a context in which to place these shifting lights and tones'. To do this is to see likeness and difference between one set of perceptions and another; and so the role of metaphor is crucial in language, in art and certainly in religion; for mythology is sustained metaphor. Man as interpreter does not say, 'Ultimate reality sent its only begotten son . . . '

In the manner of a good philosopher, Mr. Frayn is best to be known by his examples. These include metaphors which are easily recognised as parts of the long poem he might have written but did not, or as separate short poems tellingly interwoven in the texture of his argument. For him, whilst the reality of language lies in metaphor, 'the glory of writing is its dependence upon the world—the necessity it puts us in of coming back again and again to confront the complexity of what lies before our eyes'. In his apprehension of the necessity lies the great strength of his book and he has brilliantly succeeded in conveying it.

BETTY ABEL

RENOIR AND OTHERS

My Life and My Films. Jean Renoir. Collins. £4.00.
Brando. David Shipman. Macmillan. £1.95.
Films and the Second World War. Roger Manvell. Dent. £5.95.

Jean Renoir's *My Life and My Films* is a delight. With the same technique of his father each word becomes a brushstroke and the diffuse recollections by the end become the whole. This is by no means a biography in the accepted sense but a series of childhood fragments in the first part of the book and memories in the second. Jean Renoir was a pioneer of the French cinema as the retrospective presently showing at the National Film Theatre demonstrates. In his Foreword he propounds the *auteur* theory of film-making and, if there is to be just one French *auteur*, he would be Jean Renoir. The glimpses we have of his world are many and varied. There are his early visits to the Guignol and the Theatre Montmartre with his beloved nurse Gabrielle, fishing with friends and his early faltering steps in the cinema. The breakup of his marriage with his father's former model Catherine Hessling is sketched in far more delicately than is customary.

The core of the book is the account of the trials of the making of the two films for which he will always be remembered, *La Grande Illusion* and *La Regle du Jeu*. The first was memorable for many things, not least for the fine acting of Von Stroheim in what was, with one exception, the last decent part he had and, the second, for the furore which surrounded its release. The famous names of the French cinema flit throughout the book: Jouvet, Fresnay, Barrault, Raimu and the wonderful Michel Simon who appeared in so many of Renoir's earlier films, and who seems to have cultivated the scandalous stories which surround him as other people tend their gardens. The book is the more valuable and interesting if read in conjunction with André Bazin's biography and Renoir's own novel, *The Notebooks of Captain Georges*.

David Shipman's forte has always been the stars and not the genre and he confirms this in *Brando*, his excellent contribution to the Movie Makers series. No doubt this former *enfant terrible* has had longer and more idolatrous biographies, but for a cool and hard look at him and his films it is unlikely to be bettered. Shipman works in chronological order through Brando's career on stage and in the cinema from his debut in 1944 in *I Remember Mama* to *L'Ultimo Tango in Parigi*. The good and the bad films and the good and the bad performances both on screen and in public are clearly and clinically examined. If only more books on the cinema were like this.

Roger Manvell's *Films of the Second World War* covers the films made before, during and after the confrontation from all points of view. Before the war the popular cinema more or less completely ignored the threat of war. The one honourable exception was the newsreel series *The March of Time*. One of the most interesting features is the selective way Dr. Manvell looks at the more popular films and regards them with some disdain. Indeed the films which were made specifically for the people tend to have been ignored. It is one thing to consider *Mrs. Miniver* in depth, but the series of comedies George Formby made during the war probably had a wider audience—certainly in this country —and had as much if not more influence.

The list of films omitted is curious and includes such films as *From Here to Eternity* and *To Hell and Back*. On its level of looking only at the superior films of the genre this is a good book. Perhaps one day Roger Manvell will add

a chapter on the dozens of films which the *people*, as opposed to the critics, went to see.

JAMES MORTON

STALKING RADIO-ELEPHANTS

Among the Elephants. Iain and Oria Douglas-Hamilton. Collins and Harvill Press. £3.95.

Old elephant-hunters may growl 'What next?' at the exploits of Dr. Douglas-Hamilton, who has spent nearly five years studying the habits of 450 elephants in Tanzania's Lake Manyara National Park. Not content with stalking them by Land Rover and on foot, he hit on a new method of immobilising them by shooting a doped drug into the hide, then, when the drug had taken effect, fixing a transistor 'pulse' radio with spiral antenna attached to a collar slipped over the neck. When the victim recovered he could track it wherever it strayed.

'The chink chink chink of the elephant transmitter became engraved in our brains', he writes. 'It had an unearthly quality, pure and electronic. As we sat in the Land Rover cab, lighting our notes with a torch masked with a red filter . . . we could have been tracking spaceships through the galaxy'. For seventeen days and nights he tailed one young bull in this way, plotting his movements on the map, recording what he ate, drank, with whom he associated, 'for bull social organisation was still very much a mystery for me and I was curious to see if he had any special friendships'. In tracking a cow-calf group he would select for the operation an elephant generally held in low esteem by the others, hoping they would not defend it. Others in a herd, he observed, never tried to interfere with the strange radio attachment which might have offended pachyderm dignity.

Next, he decided that stalking by plane would be a surer way of checking monthly the numbers in the Park and the elephants' total range outside it; so he trained to fly, bought a secondhand Piper Pacer, and was lord of all he surveyed—an updated hunter if ever there was one. The honours of the chase were not all his, though, for the hunter became the hunted, too, when he edged the car towards a group of strangers and a huge bow-tusked female charged it, plunging her tusks repeatedly into it, being joined by others. Seeing the tusks at their feet, the huge shape menacing them, two natives aboard promptly jumped out and fled into the bush. 'It felt', the doctor recalls, 'half-way between a rugger ball in a scrum, and a dinghy overtaken by three contradictory tidal waves. The car . . . just missed overturning'. By way of a bonus, he also records being put into hospital by two charging rhinos, narrowly escaping with his life. The patient research had its thrills and hazards.

He was not only stalking elephants but, between times, stalking a science doctorate as Oxford laboratory scholar, so his well-written narrative abounds in acutely observed data. His French-Italian wife, who joined him after they had met in Nairobi, contributes five chapters about her experiences and some superb close-up colour photographs of the beasts in their natural habitat. Niko Tinbergen, F.R.S., calls the book in a Foreword 'a story of scientific discovery, of courage and adventure, of perseverance, and perhaps above all of *joie de vivre*'; and I doubt if the most grudging old hunter shocked by this new gadgetry would disagree.

TREVOR ALLEN

SHORTER REVIEWS

Portugal: the Last Empire (David and Charles. £3.95). This is a useful book, speedily written by Neil Bruce on the coup of April 25, 1974 against the background of the Salazar and Caetano regime. He puts the latter in

its best possible light, without condoning its excesses and deprivation of freedom. He attributes the coup to the discontent of junior officers in the armed forces over promotion and pay, under the influence of a smaller group of politically motivated left-wing officers. Immediately after the revolt, General Spinola was appointed head of the Junta. The General needed little persuasion to take up the position, and his immense popularity may well have assured the immediate success of the coup. Nonetheless, Mr. Bruce takes the view that Spinola 'in fact had not been directly associated with it' and that the Armed Forces Movement programme was much more radical than he would have envisaged. A large part of the book is devoted naturally to the Portuguese colonies. Mr. Bruce discounts the extent of the guerrillas' successes. 'At the end of 1973 no actual territory could in any real sense be said to be "occupied" by the guerrilla movements, except for short periods. . . . What the guerrillas could do was to control sections of the population, though here again there were limits to this control, both geographically and ethnically as conditions vary widely from area to area and from tribe to tribe'. The author argues that in Mozambique FRELIMO derives its strength from the northern border Makonde people. The latter have bitter enemies in the infinitely larger Macua population further south. The author makes the point that the new independent regimes in the colonies will not be representative of the populations as a whole. The book ends on the 31st October 1974, shortly after Spinola's resignation. As a background to subsequent events both in Portugal and the old colonies, this volume is of value and interest.

The Nigger of the 'Narcissus', Typhoon, Falk and Other Stories (Dent. 60p). In *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad wrote for the first time about the sea and sea life on board. He was greatly influenced by his own voyage as second mate on the iron sailing ship, the Narcissus, from Bombay to Dunkirk, lasting four and a half months in 1884. The novel first appeared in 1897. In his Introduction, Professor Norman Sherry refers to Henry James's description of the novel as 'the very finest and strongest picture of the sea and sea life that our language possesses—the masterpiece in a whole class'. Professor Sherry describes the voyage as 'carefully contrived by Conrad to present a microcosmographical picture of human society as he saw it'. He notes that *Typhoon* relates to Conrad's own experiences in the Far East. In addition to *Falk*, the volume includes *Amy Foster* and *To-morrow*. This edition in the Everyman series is very welcome, with valuable editing and notes by Professor Sherry.

The Second American Revolution (The Arica Press, New York. $11.85). 'The decline and fall of the Presidency' is the theme of this short study by Mr. Elie Flatto. It is partly based upon two articles in *Contemporary Review* in December 1973 and June 1974. Mr. Flatto argues that through an awakening of public opinion and pressure grouping, the press and television, the presidency, since the assassination of President Kennedy and culminating in the fall of Richard Nixon, has lost its authoritarian quality. The 'revolutionary impetus' has 'a continuous characteristic of a political process in which passive deputisation and representation are replaced by active involvement and participation'.

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SHADES OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC?

Report from Ankara

by Alfred Joachim Fischer

FOLLOWING a four-month-old Government crisis in Ankara, the chief of the Turkish General Staff, Semih Sancar, issued a New Year message which warned, in effect, that the army was willing to be patient for a long time, but not forever. Thus, the threat of a military take-over once again overshadows the political arena, as it did in 1960 and 1971. Renewed student unrest with some fatalities, the still unsolved problem of Cyprus, inflation and a deficit economy darken the general atmosphere. After the experiences of the last military coup which resulted in loss of freedom, a shackled press and the use of torture, only very few Turks would wish to repeat this experiment. Yet what is being done to prevent it?

After eight weeks of futile bargaining between the parties—reminiscent of the last days of the Weimar Republic—President Fahri Korutürk, a former admiral and ambassador, nominated a cabinet consisting of friends and trusted advisers. The assumption was that the majority of the Grand National Assembly would endorse it. In fact, however, the vote of confidence taken on the 29th November 1974 failed, with 438 Noes to only 12 Yes votes.

As the Irmak caretaker government continued to administer the country as if nothing had happened, its Foreign Minister is carrying on negotiations in Brussels with his American and Greek colleagues, and the Lybian Government head, Major Abdel Salam Jalloud, recently paid an official state visit to Turkey with all the customary ceremonial, resulting in binding negotiations and treaties, it seems worthwhile taking a closer look at its members. This is advisable for yet another reason: the acting Prime Minister and presumably a number of his colleagues in the cabinet may well play important roles in future coalitions, and possibly also before the next elections.

While his predecessor, the journalist Bülent Ecevit, had translated authors like Rabindranath Tagore and T. S. Eliot into Turkish, 70-year-old Irmak was the translator of Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften, Faust I and II,* Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* and the Koran. He speaks fluent English, French,

German and Arabic. A Professor of Medicine, he studied at the University of Berlin and spent some time lecturing at the Medical Faculty in Munich.

When German scholars forced out by Hitler were invited by Turkey to join the University of Istanbul, Irmak helped them generously and even translated their lectures in his spare moments. As Turkey's first Minister of Labour, he enforced the country's first progressive laws.

For many years, this uncompromising Kemalist, who left the political arena when Adnan Menderes took over, has headed the Istanbul Research Institute, which specialises on Atatürk and his reforms. Clearly, Irmak is a strong supporter of laicism, which is beginning to erode.

Mehlih Esenbel, previously Turkish ambassador in Washington, was appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs. This seems to indicate a desire for improved relations with the United States, which had been severely tested by the opium problem (now more or less settled), the threatened discontinuation of U.S. military aid, and the cancellation of Kissinger's visit. The newly established Department of Cultural Affairs is headed by Nermin Neftci, the second woman Minister in the 51-year-old history of the Turkish Republic. Her appointment should prove popular.

With only a few exceptions (i.e. a moderate trade unionist), all the Ministers are University Professors or at least men with advanced academic degrees. Thus, the Turks call it 'not a government, but an Academy.'

Working to unseat it (at least according to its own pronouncements) is the newly-founded 'Nationalist Front', comprising four right-wing parties in a rather odd assortment. Suleyman Demirel of the Justice Party (149 seats out of 450 in the Grand National Assembly) plays first fiddle in the 'Front'. His friends regard him as a brilliant tactician, others pronounce him the craftiest of the lot. How this former Prime Minister (1965-1971) who was finally forced to resign by an ultimatum of the military, went about re-establishing his political power on a solid basis, approaches the realm of wizardry. His re-election as head of the Justice Party took place on 14th October, 1974, with an overwhelming majority of 1,308 to 76. It seemed almost as though each of the delegates remembered only the low prices of the Demirel era and had forgotten all about his loss of face in 1971 and the preceding corruption scandals, which involved even his own brothers. The poverty-stricken Demirel family actually became one of the wealthiest in the country, and is rumoured to be the third richest. As an engineering student the subsequent 'King of the Water Dams' had to rely on scholarships for his studies. He cleverly utilised this background for publicity purposes, even making a biographical film which helped the 'Peasant Boy with the Vertical Start' to win a substantial part of the farm population. To them he owed his election votes, while the feudalist landlords filled his party coffers. For a long time a well-paid representative of an American firm, he held a decidedly pro-Washington line.

Demirel had continued the re-Islamisation policy initiated by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes (who was deposed and executed in 1960, after 10 years in office), which sought to undermine Atatürk's unblemished

laicisation record. For this reason, one phrase in the resolution of the latest congress of the Justice Party came as a surprise: it clearly calls for opposition to those elements which attempt to lead Turkey back to the Middle Ages'.

Nevertheless, Professor Necmettin Erbakan, exponent of this 'outlawed' policy, is the second strongest man of the Nationalist Front. Chairman of the National Salvation Party (48 seats or 12% of all votes, with one million registered members—a Turkish record; Zionists and Freemasons are excluded from membership) he is never satisfied with the number of new mosques and religious schools of all kinds, though these are already springing up like mushrooms. He demanded recognition of the studies and diplomas (so far considered illegal) received by young Turks from anti-Kemalist religious seminaries and theological schools in Saudi Arabia, Lybia and Egypt, and even called for Turkish Government scholarships for them. He sought to establish additional Hodshas in the villages, regardless of the facts that every third village still lacks an elementary school, that available classrooms are overcrowded, children taught in three shifts, and there is a severe shortage of teachers. During an interview (which he subsequently denied, despite the taped evidence), the Professor let it be known that he sympathises with the Sheria and feels that one particular punishment of this medieval Islamic code, originally designed for nomadic desert tribes, would be 'the best therapy for curing social ills'; public severance of a hand, as 'atonement' for even the most minor larceny (still the customary procedure in Saudi Arabia, amongst others).

The veil, forbidden by Atatürk, he views at least with respect, though Mrs. Erbakan does not wear one, unlike the wife (herself a doctor) of party colleague Ogozhan Asiltürk, a former Interior Minister. Lastly, he is fighting against pornography and the mini-skirt, which so far has survived all onslaughts. Nothing in Erbakan's career indicates bigotry. A graduate of the Aachen Technical University, he was engaged as a research engineer by the Klöckner Humboldt Deutz Works. It was his task to help develop an air-cooled armoured engine for the Federal Army (the subject of his thesis). Subsequently he received appointments as University Lecturer and Professor, and then became the chairman of the Ankara Association of Chambers for Trade and Industry.

In 1971, the Party of National Order which Erbakan had helped to found one year previously, was banned for various offences against Laicism, guaranteed by the Constitution. For some time, this sword of Damocles had again been looming above his head. No fewer than 41 suits against him as well as the Party are said to have been dismissed, partly on account of his immunity, and partly from a desire not to create martyrs. He was Acting Prime Minister under Bülent Ecevit for nine months, but this unnatural coalition between fire and water was marred not only by the Professor's clerical extravaganzas; alternately he called for a takeover of all Cyprus, then again for a partitioning of the island, and finally turned his polemics against any humanitarian concessions to the Greek Cypriots. (The Prime Minister, on the other hand, preferred to adopt a more pragmatic

and conciliatory course.)

Judging by his subsequent experiences, Ecevit should perhaps not have dissolved the coalition quite so abruptly, bearing in mind the dictum of the first post-war SPD Chairman, Kurt Schumacher: 'In politics, one sometimes has to go to bed with people who make one shudder'.

On 3rd January, 1975, the Nationalist Front published a resolution calling for the preservation of Atatürk's ideas. This sounds ironical in view of the record of Demirel (not to mention Erbakan's) who is bending over backwards to attract the new politically rehabilitated 'Menderes Democrats'. Mindful of recent events, the Turkish President, Fahri Korutürk, allegedly has reservations about demands for a future Nationalist Front Government which would include the National Salvation Party, since this would presumably create new unrest and insecurity.

A much more pragmatic approach is taken by the Republican Party of National Confidence (12 seats), whose single, openly avowed aim is participation in any government, no matter what combination. Hence it was the only party to offer five Ministers to the Irmak cabinet (though without definite coalition ties). The 'Party of National Confidence' had severed itself from Ecevit's Republican People's Party (185 seats) since it is more right-wing than its (only lately Social-democrat-orientated) parent body and is taking a liberal attitude. Its President, Turhan Feyzioglu, has the reputation of being well-educated, accessible and flexible—virtues not frequently found among Turkish politicians.

The smallest group within the Nationalist Front is the Party of National Movement (three seats), whose Chairman is Colonel Alpaslan Turkes, a racist and former National Socialist. Some Turkish Leftists claim that he is responsible for the training of those militant right-wing student organisations which stage bloody battles against anarchists and other dissident fellow students. This was one of the factors which led to the military coup in 1971.

What, then, constitutes the common platform of the parties forming the Nationalist Front? All of them campaign against everything they regard as 'leftist'. This includes the genuinely moderate 'Republican People's Party' as well as the illegal Communist Party and the likewise banned marxist 'Workers' Party', the National Unity Party (one M.P.), which stands somewhat to the left of Ecevit, and the newly-founded Socialist Workers' Party. The four partners of the Nationalist Front advocated an economic policy which seems excessively liberal for a developing country like Turkey and opposed a more equitable distribution of land, which is greatly overdue.

On this point the Democratic Party (45 seats) does not disagree with them. A group splintered off from the Justice Party which it accuses of not being sufficiently anti-Communist and therefore responsible for the military *coup d'état* in 1971, it pursues the Menderes line even more radically, as its name implies. Ferruh Bozbeyli, Chairman of the Democratic Party, did a creditable job as President of the Grand National Assembly. He had promised Ecevit to join his coalition government, in order to replace the

National Salvation Party, and had agreed privately to an election earlier than scheduled, which can only be called if Parliament decides, by a simple majority, to dissolve itself, or by Presidential decree if a vote of confidence is followed by three votes of censure. Then, however, Bozbeyli went back on his promise and began to vacillate like a weather-vane. Later, he seemed inclined to favour a long-term coalition with Ecevit, then an all-party government, and then again leaned towards a Nationalist Front cabinet, though not headed by Demirel, whom he hates, but rather under Professor Irmak's leadership.

The resulting loss of face alone would have made it impossible for Demirel to agree to this. He had several irons in the fire, exerting pressure in three directions: Acting Prime Minister Irmak was made to feel Demirel's power and not allowed to become too strong. While attacking Ecevit, his staunch opponent, Demirel at the same time held out the bait of a Big Two Coalition, or of support for a minority government by the Republican People's Party. He also continued his efforts to win back or entice some Democratic delegates away from Bozbeyli.

In fact, the Chairman of the Justice Party could not have been particularly interested in the premature takeover of an unstable government, while the economic situation was steadily deteriorating. If it should have proved possible to avoid early elections, the situation could be different. In that case he might at least be able, if elected, to profit from the existing reserves of foreign currency. According to reliable estimates, they should be used up in about two years, through rising prices of oil and other raw materials, and through the dismissal of more Turkish guest workers whose transmissions would decrease correspondingly.

Early elections might have proved unfavourable to Demirel. His appeal amongst the broad masses was certainly fading, and he cannot hope to compete with the popularity Ecevit won with his successful Cyprus invasion and his large-scale amnesty. Demirel's proposals for election reforms were all too transparent. The provision of banning splinter groups from Parliament would never be accepted by the small parties. Another one of his ideas, too, would benefit only him and to a lesser extent Erbakan: he would like to divide the country into smaller electoral districts, in which only a single candidate could be elected. This would lend added weight to the villages—where his strength lies—and more big landowners would be eligible for Parliament. The Nationalist Front plans to draw up unified ballot lists in those places where the Republican People's Party showed a clear superiority in 1973. This could only be done through changes in the electoral law. The necessary simple majority would require also the Democratic Party votes, so that Bozbeyli looked like holding the balance. In the event, Mr. Bozbeyli received overwhelming support during the Convention of the Democratic Party on February 1st and 2nd and, as expected, has been re-elected as Chairman. But he did not succeed in winning over the politically rehabilitated former Menderes-Democrats. Probably the majority of them will eventually join Mr. Demirel's Justice Party. None of Bozbeyli's M.P.s has deserted him. Consequently, the

Nationalistic Front is still lacking a parliamentary majority and cannot replace Professor Irmak's government. Although Bozbeyli pays lip service to early elections (autumn 1975), nobody here takes this too seriously.

It must be remembered that Ecevit's recent trip to Cyprus where the 'second Atatürk" received a triumphant welcome, served to enhance his popularity still further, in spite of malicious comments by other party leaders about an unauthorised, self-seeking propaganda jaunt. His trip coincided with the visit to Turkey by the Lybian Prime Minister. Clearly, Ecevit is enough of a pragmatist to pay heed to the Arabs; yet his political line does not place as much stress on support for the Arabs and the PLO—in an interview for *Le Monde,* Ecevit once even favoured raising diplomatic relations with Israel back to the ambassadorial level—as does Irmak, according to his government programme. Jalloud was displeased with the attitude of Ecevit, who happens to be a distant relative of the new Lybian ambassador in Ankara (transferred there from Cairo). He took an unexpected step—though not before agreeing to substantial concessions to the Turkish Government, i.e. more oil deliveries, joint industrial projects, Lybian investments in Turkey, and employment of many Anatolian guest workers (allegedly 60,000). Through the good offices of Ecevit's then Finance Minister Baykal, Jalloud expressed an urgent request for a personal meeting with the head of the Republican People's Party. After certain difficulties had been resolved, Ecevit—no doubt flattered—shortened his Cyprus visit in order to meet the distinguished Lybian guest in Istanbul.

One last point is worth mentioning. There is great anxiety in Ankara about the dismissal of Turkish guest workers in the Federal Republic of Germany and other West European countries. Even Libya, who is supplying Turkey with two million tons of crude oil at reasonable prices, cannot be an adequate outlet for these migrant workers. Anxiety is also being felt about the deterioration of the economic and industrial situation and the cut-off of American military aid since February 15th.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA BUILDS NATIONHOOD THROUGH DEVELOPMENT

by Robert Mott

THE classified advertising section of the Port Moresby *Post Courier* is a job-hunter's dream. Its pages are filled with demands for surveyors, accountants, teachers, mechanics, personnel officers, sales clerks, secretaries, merchandise managers, telephone technicians and receptionists. Yet many of the ads go unanswered. Thus do the back pages of Papua New Guinea's only daily newspaper tell an important part of this emerging nation's story: skilled jobs are available by the hundreds, but there are not enough qualified people to fill them.

Another part of the story can be found on the front page, where Chief Minister Michael Somare is quoted as telling a group of Australian businessmen that the 'lion's share' of profits from foreign investment will remain in Papua New Guinea.

'We accept that foreign investment will be needed . . . ' Mr. Somare said, 'but we are resolved to channel that investment for the greatest possible benefit to the people of Papua New Guinea.'

Taken together, these two factors—a shortage of domestic skilled labour and an almost overwhelming proportion of foreign capital—form the core of the economic challenge facing Papua New Guinea's new leaders in the years to come.

The problem is accentuated by the imminence of national independence. In 1972, a new government in Australia reversed the policy of its predecessor and said it would grant independence to the merged territory of Papua and United Nations trust territory of New Guinea as early as practicable. That led to a rapid acceleration of economic development and transfer of political power and administrative control. By 1 December 1973, Papua New Guinea was granted internal autonomy. Full independence is now expected sometime in 1975.

For all its Stone Age image, Papua New Guinea is, in fact, a dual society. Alongside a primitive, tribal, rural and mostly illiterate (75 per cent, or more) society has been installed a modern Western infrastructure of roads, schools, hospitals, department stores, automatic telephones, motels and jet airports.

But as independence approaches and as Papua New Guineans move into government posts at all levels, the 'expatriate' population (nearly all Australians) has been dropping rapidly, which in turn accelerates the need for trained indigenous people in a country rich in natural resources and consequently with vast economic potential.

The magnitude of the task ahead can be seen in a few facts. With an area (184,000 square miles or 490,000 square kilometres) nearly as large as France, the country stretches over several large islands—including the eastern half of the island of New Guinea—and dozens of small ones. It has only 2.7 million indigenous people, divided into tribes speaking some 700

languages, by mountains as high as the Alps and jungle as dense as the Amazon. The only unifying forces are those brought by colonial history and modern technology—and the latter is a very recent arrival so far confined largely to the towns.

Three-quarters of the native population remains outside the monetised sector of the economy, with subsistence agriculture providing nearly all its material needs. Within the organised sector, run mainly by the 40,000 or so 'expatriates' (mostly Australians), Papua New Guineans hold about one-seventh of professional positions and roughly half the subprofessional jobs. The proportion is considerably higher in the public service, which is being rapidly 'localised', and much lower in the private sector, which still relies on outside capital and expertise.

It is this imbalance that the government seeks to redress, while at the same time insuring that foreign assistance continues to the extent necessary to bring about rapid and equitable economic growth.

A vital element in the government's development strategy—contained in a much-publicised '8-point Improvement Plan'—is the adaptation of material growth to the traditional ways of native society, one that is predominantly rural, communal and egalitarian.

To perpetuate this way of life, the government has adopted legislation to allow formation of private companies along tribal lines, and is sending teachers, government administrators and business development officers into remote villages to promote local development and discourage an excessive flow of young people to the country's few large towns.

Thanks to the country's geography, efforts to decentralise such economic activities as mining, small-scale industry, plantation agriculture and forestry have been relatively successful, although this is contingent in the long run on development of economic means of transport from the rugged interior of the highlands to coastal towns, and in turn between these major settlements. (There is still no road, for example, from the capital of Port Moresby, in the south, to the northern port cities of Lae and Madang; coastal shipping is time-consuming, and air transport is not yet economically feasible for moving goods.)

Despite the government's so-far successful efforts to decentralise, this has not stopped a marked drift of population to the larger towns as the country's economy becomes increasingly monetised. This migration inevitably creates cultural disorientation among a strongly tribal people, of which major elements are unemployment, the creation of urban shanty towns and an increase in crime.

Partly because of this, and also because the country's physical infrastructure is already relatively well developed, the emphasis in current development planning is gradually shifting toward a more social, rather than a purely economic content—in short, development of human resources through accelerated programmes of public health, education, vocational training, community development and assistance to small enterprises.

The great bulk of support will continue to come from Australia for many years. The government in Canberra has pledged nearly $US700 million in assistance over a five-year period that began in 1973. The United Nations

Development Programme is contributing $5 million during the same period in the form of expert advisers, equipment and fellowships, with emphasis on co-operative and business development, teacher training, vocational training, home economics, and farm, forestry and fishing techniques.

Advisers from such UN agencies as the International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organisation, UNESCO and the World Health Organisation are active in projects throughout the country, and the World Bank has provided pre-investment advice followed up by infrastructure loans.

Producing skilled wage-earners is one thing; creating a class of small businessmen in country without a commercial tradition is another. Yet early experience has been encouraging. The country's co-operative movement, strengthened in recent years by the talents of graduates of the Laloki Co-operative College (created and run with the assistance of the ILO), is finding stiff competition from a growing number of small businesses. With financial assistance from the Papua New Guinea Development Bank and advice from the government's Department of Business Development, shopkeepers, boatbuilders, artisans and building contractors are at least beginning to take up some of the slack left by departing Australians. And, together with the growing number of wage-earners, they also form the nucleus of a tax base that will contribute to the long-run goal of economic self-reliance.

Indigenous control of major enterprises is not, however, a realistic short-run goal. In this area, the lesson of 'resources diplomacy' has not been lost on the new leaders of Papua New Guinea.

'We know our resources command a high and increasing value on world markets', Finance Minister Julius Chan told a group of visiting Japanese businessmen recently. 'We are not going to sell them off cheaply to the first customer just because he happens to be the nearest.' He added that, if foreign business interests want access to the resources of Papua New Guinea, 'then your only chance is to accept our terms.'

These terms will include a sizeable government share, perhaps 50 per cent, of profits from such enterprises as mining, fishing, forestry and primary tropical products, in the form of taxes. Other ways of insuring that Papua New Guinea derives benefit from exploitation of its resources will include equity investment in foreign firms by a government agency formed for that purpose, provision of infrastructure and purchase of locally-produced supplies by the enterprises concerned, and jobs for Papua New Guineans.

The full extent of the country's natural resources has yet to be determined, but so far they appear to be immense. Already a copper mining project on the island of Bougainville has created thousands of jobs, added $US130 million to the gross national product (representing about one-fifth of the overall GNP) and $14 million in direct tax revenue in the 1972-73 fiscal year alone.

Another copper mining project on the mainland is expected to begin producing revenue by 1977 or 1978. Exploration for other minerals, petroleum and natural gas are under way. The country's hydroelectric potential is vast, although physical difficulties owing to climate and terrain, and the

huge financial investment and time-lag involved in producing power for future industry, make this a long-range calculation.

If mining is the biggest export earner now, forest products promise to be equally important in the future. Resources are far beyond the country's foreseeable domestic needs, and the government plans to turn timber into a large-scale export industry within the next decade through the use of substantial overseas capital and skills. This fits very well into the government's plans for decentralisation, since forest industries are located away from urban centres and have high employment potentials.

Localisation, income equalisation and economic self-reliance are also to be promoted through further development of cash-cropping by smallholders. An oil palm project in West New Britain involving the settlement of nearly 1,500 smallholders has exceeded original estimates both of production and profit.

Beef cattle and other livestock, fruit and vegetables, rice and sugar production are regarded by the government as 'the main avenues for increasing domestic production of Papua New Guinea's food requirements', at the same time lowering the nation's food import bill, which in recent years has been growing. A study of the feasibility of introducing new crops is being undertaken with technical assistance from UNDP.

A major problem in the past has been fluctuation and a general downward trend in world market prices for agricultural and other primary commodities produced in Papua New Guinea, among them copra, rubber, cocoa, coffee and tea. With the more recent development of shortages and generally higher prices for some commodities, it would appear that the Papua New Guinea economy stands only to gain—assuming the country can feed itself and earn the foreign exchange it needs for capital goods imports with exports of surplus foodstuffs and other primary products.

All this assumes continued progress in education and training, steadily increasing indigenous ownership of land and business enterprise, further development of internal transport and communications, and the steady growth of an internal social and political unity that is still in a fragile state.

With English as the official language, and with widespread use (both officially and informally) of Pidgin, language barriers are on the way to being overcome. A more serious potential problem, however, is tribal hostility, which only recently erupted in bloody fighting in the highlands district, and which has been a contributing factor in various threats of secession by some local groups.

Yet despite these periodic outbursts (more often than not personal in nature and brief in duration), Papua New Guinea's indigenous people have a long history of co-operation and compromise through an egalitarian social system.

'Through compromise we have settled our problems for thousands of years', Chief Minister Somare has said. 'It is in this way that my government will solve our future problems. Our history and our culture must be the basis of our future decisions.'

SHANGHAI

by Benjamin G. Cavanero

SHANGHAI, which means 'above the sea', is on the Whangpoo River, the lowest tributary at the mouth of the Yangtse. Whereas the territorial limits of Greater Shanghai, 320 square miles by government grant, reach up to the confluence of the two waters, the main city itself sits astride the Whangpoo, ten miles to the interior. Cosmopolitan Shanghai was born to the world in 1842 when the British man-of-war Nemesis, slipping unnoticed into the mouth of the Yangtse River, reduced the Woosung Fort and took the city without a fight.

The Britons surveyed the countryside and found it fertile of soil, rich in minerals, lush with wealth and of limitless possibilities. Colonisers at heart and merchants to the core, they dug in and decided to stay. On the muddy bend of the Whangpoo, just outside the Chinese City, they built their sheds and their godowns. They entertained the Mandarins and the Tao Tais and deftly wangled commercial concessions. They built homes and shops, clubs and cricket fields. Their frigates and sloops from Hongkong, Singapore, India and Port Said discharged their cargoes of Manchester cloths and Bristol silverware in exchange for silk and spices, pigs' bristles and hundred-year-old eggs.

Thereafter, came other traders: Americans, Germans, French, Russians and Japanese. All of them were avid for Chinese trade and Chinese gold; each vying with the other for Chinese friendship and the most-favoured-nation clause. In less than a hundred years, Shanghai was an international town, speaking seven languages, teeming with shops, banks and factories. Henceforth, it was the hub of trade and commerce, of education and espionage. Industries and universities sprang up; so did chambers of commerce and Rotary clubs, workmen's committees and labour unions, side by side with hospitals, churches, racecourses, Jai Alai frontons, night-clubs and plush casinos.

Moreover, its godowns were bursting with goods, its factories operating on a 24-hour schedule; so were its opium dens and mahjong dives. Farm and agricultural products from the provinces of the west (from Tibet down to Kiangsu) were siphoned through the big river down to Shanghai for distribution to various parts of the country or for export to the rest of the world. Central China's thriving export business, with wood oil, bristles, rice, tobacco, ramie, eggs, sesame seeds and hog casings, had Shanghai as the nerve centre. River steamers went up as far as Chungking to collect available farm products and bring them to Shanghai to be put on ocean liners for distribution to the four corners of the world.

From a distribution centre, Shanghai grew up to be an industrial metropolis. The British, the Japanese, the Americans and the French brought in machinery and established docks and shipyards, motor works, textiles and canning factories, glass works, machine shops and furniture establishments

to such an extent that, before Pearl Harbour, Shanghai had already garnered 60% of all the light industries of China. As Shanghai grew, many of the commodities formerly imported by China were made in the city. Only the highly technological consumer articles such as medicines and dyestuffs were imported for general distribution. Shanghai expanded, grew and became more important not only as the export and import metropolis in the Far East but also as a predominant industrial and manufacturing centre in China.

The metropolis was also the leading political and social centre of Asia. There was no city elsewhere in this part of the globe which could boast of a bigger cosmopolitan population. Before the Pacific War, there were about 120,000 foreign residents out of a total population of 4,500,000; approximately 30,000 Germans and Austrians, 25,000 Russians, 30,000 Japanese, 15,000 French, 7,000 Britons, 3,000 Americans, 2,000 Portuguese, 2,000 Indians, and about 1,000 Filipinos; and almost all other nations had some nationals residing in this city.

These various nationalities had brought to Shanghai their respective cultures and conflicting political ideologies. There were German Nazis and German Jews; de Gaullists and Vichy supporters; Red Russians and White Russians; and 'pro-India' Indians and 'pro-Pakistan' Indians. The French had the Catholic cathedrals, the Greeks and Russians their orthodox churches, the British their chapels, the Arabs and the Turks their mosques, the Jews their synagogues.

As a result of the 1842 Opium War in which Britain, by brawn and bluster, beat China down to her knees, Shanghai became a so-called Treaty Port virtually under the control of the British. Thus Shanghai, the pulse of Asia, had become a melting pot of the world where West met East, where vice and virtue became bedfellows; where wealth thundered and poverty murmured.

In 1949, when the Communist armies savagely lunged towards Shanghai and the Nationalist defenders dug in deep all around the outskirts, sandbagging all city street crossings and mounting guns on all important buildings on the metropolis, Shanghailanders knew that this was going to be a different kind of war from any they had seen in the past. Mukden, Peiping and Nanking fell without a fight. In Shanghai, the showdown came in the heart of the metropolis.

Military experts were unanimous in saying that Shanghai was undefendable. At midnight on April 21st, the Reds struck heavily at the five places of concentration along the Yangtse. Just before dawn, Nationalist defences were effectively softened up and crossings made under the cover of artillery fire.

Junks, boats, barges, sampans and river craft of all descriptions brought thousands of Red troops to the south banks, virtually unopposed. By early morning on April 22nd, the Communists found themselves holding several beachheads with Chiang's troops in disorderly retreat, except in some key but isolated points where bitter, local resistance was maintained. The Red

crossing was a 'blitzkreig', accelerated by accurate information about Nationalist positions and the defection of many defending garrisons.

On April 26th, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, after an absence of only a few days, returned to Shanghai and conferred at length with the chiefs of the Chinese land, sea and air forces. He summoned all the military, political and financial leaders and discussed with them the defence of Shanghai. There would be no surrender, he said. The decision of Chiang to defend Shanghai to the end came as a bitter pill to the people in Shanghai, who could not understand why the Generalissimo had decided to risk the lives of the six million inhabitants and the destruction of its factories and industries worth several billion dollars, when the outcome could be nothing but inglorious defeat. And yet to those who have followed the stormy career of Chiang, the reason for this decision was plain. He was playing for bigger stakes. Madame Chiang was in the United States asking for aid, financial and military. Ambassador Koo was drumming in the White House and at Capitol Hill the need to save Nationalist China from Communist engulfment.

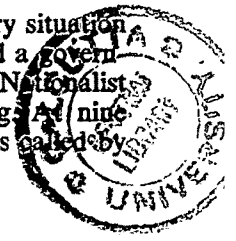
However, the loss of Manchuria, the sell-out of Peiping and Tientsin, the defeat at Hsuchow, the debacle on the Yangtse—all these had convinced the American government that the Kuomintang regime was nothing but a liability; although if Chiang could put up a good showing in Shanghai, American aid might be forthcoming.

There followed a drastic reorganisation of the Shanghai Defence Garrison. Loyal Chiang men were put in all key positions. Chiang installed as Police Commissioner of Shanghai General Mao Sen, bloody Mao, as he was called, who was the chief of the Blue Shirts, the secret police of General Chiang Kai-shek. General Chen Liang, another Chiang man, was appointed Mayor of Shanghai in place of that genial politician, K. C. Wu. The finest, most modern, best equipped division defending Shanghai, known as the first armoured unit, was placed under the command of Chiang Wei-kuo, second son of Chiang.

Meanwhile, small wonder that the negotiations for the peaceful surrender of Shanghai collapsed. Peace-minded financial leaders who had offered to defray most of the necessary 'expenses' suddenly disappeared. To avoid detection, some left their homes and lived with their concubines; others feigned illness and went to hospital.

The city was under military law and peace overtures were treason. The secret police of General Mao Sen appeared all over the city. They could arrest people without warrant, and execute them without trial. And to show that the government meant business, several alleged yellow-ox gangs, or silver-dollar black marketeers, were picked up and paraded in open trucks around the city, before being summarily shot.

While Chiang delivered bold speeches in Shanghai, the military situation was fast deteriorating. The Communists had not only established a government at Nanking, but their troops were in hot pursuit of the Nationalist soldiers who had fled southward in the direction of Chekiang. At nine o'clock on the morning of April 27th, an emergency meeting was called by



the secretary of the Consular Corps. The matter under consideration was the shortage of cash with which to pay workers in the factories. Business houses and employers had funds in banks on deposit, but due to shortage of Gold Yuan notes, or because they were black marketed through the negligence or connivance of bank officials, the Central Bank could not honour the cheques issued by employers. Payday was two days ahead and if the labourers were not paid, there might be disorder.

Already the men were restive. A committee of five headed by the Senior Consul was appointed to interview the relevant authorities. They first went to the Central Bank. The committee noticed that many of the bank officials' papers and records were being packed in boxes, presumably for removal. The committee then appealed to the Mayor, General Chen Liang. He pulled strings. The Shanghai Defence Garrison intervened. The Central Bank was ordered to meet part of the cash demands of employers and the rest had to be purchased in the black market. Thus the situation was saved and the labourers paid on time.

Two weeks after the breach of the Yangtse, the Reds were within shelling distance of the city. The airlines were booked up to one year and the ships six months in advance; their booking offices besieged by thousands of panic-stricken Kuomintang leaders and sympathisers.

On the 16th of May, the Nationalist Air Force took part in the battle for the defence of the city. After their first raid, they reported that the Reds were ringing Shanghai in all directions and from the air, and that heavy reinforcements were arriving on the south-west from Hangchow and the west from Soochow. Thereafter an emergency meeting was called by the Swiss Consul-General. He wanted to know what the Consular Corps could do to prevent Shanghai from becoming a battleground. There were two courses open. The first would be to approach the top Red Commander and ask him not to assault the city or take it by force, but merely to surround it and wait until the Nationalist forces abandoned Shanghai. The second would be to ask the Shanghai Garrison Commander, through the City Mayor, to declare Shanghai an open city. The Consular Corps decided on the latter course.

A committee of three was appointed to see the new Mayor of Shanghai, General Chen Liang. After a brief conference, the Mayor declared that he had just come from an inspection of the battle and reported an overwhelming victory. At that moment the group of three committees could not discuss with him their hope that Shanghai be declared an open city. After all, he had confirmed the official government communique that the Reds were on the run and the city was safe. However, next morning, his secretary confided that the Mayor had left a little after midnight for Taiwan. Randall Gould of the *Shanghai Evening Post* was furious when he learned of the Mayor's flight. In an editorial, he commented: 'Ex-Mayor Chen Liang was certainly sincere about Health Week this week. He found out what seemed best for his own health and promptly did it'.

On the night of the 23rd of May all the guns were barking furiously and spitting fire as if to make up for their previous want of enthusiasm. The

battle ended at dawn. On the morning of Sunday, the 24th of May, the sun came out from the east bright and radiant. There was no military activity, except for Nationalist fighter planes which dived in pairs at Communist positions a good distance away.

After eight o'clock, the usual crowd began trudging their way to the City Hall. About noon, three Nationalist bombers circled the city and dropped bombs in the direction of the British Golf Club. Late in the afternoon, cars, jeeps and hundreds of trucks began a deafening rumble on the Bund. Civilian trucks and buses joined the procession, carrying soldiers and ammunition.

The unanimous opinion gathered from intelligence reports was that, during the last three nights, at least 20,000 soldiers had gone up north toward Woosung with no less than a thousand lorries bound for Taiwan. The nationalist defenders were building pillboxes, digging trenches and putting up roadblocks and wire entanglements on all the roads. This was done openly because it was part of their strategy to make the Red Army and civilian population believe that they were going to defend the city inch by inch, even as Manila or Stalingrad had been defended.

Obviously, if there had been any real intention to defend the city these defences would have been constructed in secrecy under cover of night. Furthermore, the Nationalist soldiers would have concentrated in the west of the south, where the Communist attackers were assembled and there given them battle. The rush to the north, around Woosung where there were no enemies, meant only one thing—escape to the sea and Taiwan. At dusk, no less than a dozen heavy army trucks were assembled in front of the police headquarters. Hundreds of steel cabinets and boxes containing important papers were being loaded on the trucks. Escorted by army cars and armed soldiers, the trucks left after dark for the Bund, and then towards Kiangwan airfield. The din and clamour continued at the Bund until after ten at night when, except for occasional cannon fire, all was quiet. There were a few loiterers hurrying home, but apart from these Shanghai seemed asleep, save for a few lights peering blindly through the window curtains or Venetian blinds.

It was midnight when a number of cars and trucks appeared in the streets. They were fully loaded with soldiers who jumped off the vehicles and took up positions in front of the police headquarters. Somebody from the building came out, saluted, and the soldiers marched in. Others surrounded the building stealthily as if expecting an ambuscade. More trucks, also full of soldiers, arrived and the City Hall was surrounded. Without ceremony, the red flag was raised where the Kuomintang emblem had waved before. The Reds had taken the City Hall and police headquarters. No shot was fired. Apparently, it was pre-arranged. Officially, Shanghai had fallen.

THE THEME OF DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE DRAMA OF ARTHUR PINERO

by Edmund J. Miner

LATE in his career, the Victorian dramatist Arthur Pinero (1855-1934) produced *The Enchanted Cottage*, a fantasy based on the delusions entertained by a newly-married couple in a small provincial town. Oliver Bashforth, a war casualty, and Laura Pennington, a noticeably plain young woman, suddenly assume a strange aura of beauty in each other's eyes as a result of their deep mutual affection and understanding. Excited by the miraculous change, they confide in their only close friend, a blind war veteran who is unable to verify the story for himself. Their housekeeper refrains from enlightening them, and it is only when Bashforth's relatives appear on the scene that the young couple's illusions are shattered. But their disappointment is short-lived, for they now begin to understand the true nature of the miracle which has transformed their lives.

Although *The Enchanted Cottage* (1921) is the only overt treatment of the theme of appearances versus reality to be found in Pinero's drama, a reading of his plays as a whole provides abundant evidence that he subscribed to W. S. Gilbert's notion that 'things are seldom what they seem'. In his comedies and domestic problem plays, one major character after another experiences painful disillusionment with himself, his family and friends, or society and life in general. Even in the five Royal Court farces (1885-1893) the frantic action often involves the disillusionment of fathers with daughters, mothers with sons, or husbands with wives. It is especially, however, in those dramas most intimately concerned with relations between the sexes—in his marital problem plays, above all—that we see Pinero's preoccupation with the disappointed hopes and thwarted expectations of the ordinary man and woman.

Helen Thornhill in *The Thunderbolt* (1908) is a striking example of the disillusionment which so many of Pinero's characters experience as a consequence of self-deception. Her first meeting with the Mortimore clan is sufficiently instructive for her to dismiss them as unscrupulous and grasping relatives who have no interest in seeing justice done so long as it deprives them of one shilling of her deceased father's money. She feels, though, that Thaddeus and Phyllis Mortimore have little in common with the rest of the family, and she chooses to accept their hospitality. Her attachment to this couple and their likeable children grows with each passing hour. Nevertheless, it is Phyllis who eventually hurts Helen the most and actually is the cause of her losing the bulk of her father's estate. Helen forgives Phyllis to the extent of saving her from criminal prosecution by conspiring with the whole family to conceal her destruction of a legal document; she also sets aside a trust fund for the children's education. Beyond this, at present, she is not willing to go, and before her departure she can offer only this tentative assurance:

Helen: . . . Mr. Tad, I propose that we allow six months to pass in complete silence—six months from today——

Thaddeus: Six months—silence——?

Helen: I mean, without my hearing from your wife. Then, perhaps, she—she will send me another invitation.

Thaddeus: Invitation——?

Helen: By that time, we shall, all of us, have forgotten a great deal—sha'n't we? [1]

Most of Pinero's central characters undergo a similar change of attitude towards their relatives and friends. In the earlier stages of *The Big Drum* (1915), author Philip Mackworth regards Ottoline de Chaumie's brother, Bertram Filson, as his chief enemy, particularly after he learns of his hiring a private detective to investigate the prodigious sales of his latest novel. It is his fiancée, however, who proves to have been the initiator of his downfall with her well-meaning efforts to bring him literary and financial success by buying up hundreds of his books and having them stored away secretly in London. Philip has been aware for several years of Ottoline's tendency to use her wealth to promote her own interests, but his disillusionment is nonetheless crushing now in view of the disaster she has brought about in both his personal and his professional life.

Dr. Walter Harmer (*Dr. Harmer's Holidays,* 1924) suffers a more painful disillusionment in his relations with Elsie Speed. Her first lover, the Reverend Oswald Birkett, breaks off his engagement for fear that her ill-health will hamper him in his ministry, and Dr. Harmer succeeds him. Over a period of some months he restores her to nearly complete health, whereupon Elsie and Oswald become reconciled and beg the doctor to remove the one remaining impediment to their union—himself.

Much of the disillusionment in Pinero's drama results from such errors of judgement and misplaced confidence. In *Letty* (1905) Nevill Letchmere recognises the fact that his family's history reveals a consistent record of marital infidelity and illicit relationships. And although he is aware of his sister's problems with her husband and her growing intimacy with Coppinger Drake, he clings to the belief that she represents the one exception to this unfortunate tendency. When his sister asks him to act as chaperon while she and Drake pay an evening social call, Nevill's decision rather to spend his evening with Letty leads to his sister's flight from London in Drake's company—an event which shocks Nevill, a married man himself, into terminating his affair with Letty Shell. Letty's love affairs, meanwhile, embrace the entire social spectrum and eventually leave her thoroughly disillusioned with the romantic conception of life which her imagination had created.

It is in the relations of the sexes within marriage that we find the most disillusioning experiences in Pinero's drama. Five of his more significant plays are concerned almost exclusively with this subject: *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893), *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* (1895), *The Benefit of the Doubt* (1895), *His House in Order* (1906) and *Mid-Channel* (1909). And in several other plays, notably *Letty* and *The Thunderbolt,* unhappiness in marriage plays a major part in the dramatic conflict. Pinero's portrayal of

the marriage relationship is far from romantic or sentimental, nor is any of the women in these plays so easily satisfied as St. John Hankin's Mrs. Borridge, who ventures the opinion:

> There's nothing like being married. It's so respectable. When you're married you can look down on people, and that's what every woman wants. . . .[2]

Actually, this is not precisely what every woman in Pinero's drama wants. Paula Tanqueray comes to hate the very notion of 'respectability', just as Nina Jesson does in *His House in Order*, or Zoe Blundell in *Mid-Channel*; and Theophila Fraser (*The Benefit of the Doubt*) learns that marriage is so very respectable that society's severest censure is reserved for wives who indulge in the most innocent kind of unconventional behaviour.

It is doubtful whether any other of Pinero's heroines experiences so quick a disillusionment as Paula Tanqueray who, while being almost smothered with respectability at her new home in Surrey, is neglected by her husband, resented by her step-daughter, and ostracised by society. After her chance encounter with Hugh Ardale, a man out of her disreputable past, her husband tries to reassure her as to the future, pointing out that such an accident is not likely to recur, for 'the world isn't quite so small as all that'. Paula rejoins: 'Isn't it! The only great distances it contains are those we carry within ourselves—the distances that separate husbands and wives, for instance'.[3] This sentiment could just as easily have been expressed by Nina Jesson, or Zoe Blundell, or Theophila Fraser, for all these women are contracted to husbands with whom they have failed to establish any meaningful relationship. Paula's words, in their denial of any bond of love or mutual understanding, reflect the profoundly realistic appraisal which Pinero makes of the state of marriage in late Victorian society.

Paula Tanqueray's attitude is understandably cynical after her experience in the first few months of marriage. She remarks to Cayley Drummle, a family friend: 'Doesn't that define a happy marriage? I'm sleek, well-kept, well-fed, never without a bone to gnaw and fresh straw to lie upon . . .'[4] She has found that marriage has given her nothing she did not have before —nothing but a dubious feeling of virtue, and even this has become irksome to her. Marriage in Pinero's society drama invariably brings a woman material comforts, but it fails to provide her with the emotional and spiritual satisfactions anticipated.

The Duke of St. Olpherts, in *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith*, who is apparently beyond emotional involvement, has adopted an even more coldly cynical attitude towards marriage. His solution to Lucas and Sybil's problem is one of political expediency: 'Mrs. Cleeve in one quarter of the house, Mr. Cleeve in another.' And when Gertrude Thorpe, commenting upon Sybil's arrival to urge this compromise upon Lucas, remarks, 'What work for a wife', the Duke exclaims, 'Wife—nonsense! She is only married to Cleeve'.[5] This sardonic retort is a fairly accurate commentary, however, upon the relations of the majority of marriage partners encountered in these plays.

All three women in *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* are bitterly disappointed with their ventures into matrimony. Gertrude Thorpe finally confesses

to the 'dreadful, almost intolerable' life she led with her husband, and to regret that she did not seek release through a young man with whom she had fallen in love. 'And here I am', she says reproachfully to her brother, 'a virtuous woman; saved by the blessed mercy of Heaven!' Presumably a woman who has a brother in the ministry is under additional pressure to maintain a respectable facade before the world—even if it entails concealing a husband's cruelties. Sybil Cleeve soon reveals that she, too, has suffered; she upbraids Agnes for accepting on faith Lucas's version of their unhappy marriage:

> You know him now. Have I been altogether to blame, do you still think? Unsympathetic? Because I've so often had to tighten my lips, and stare blankly over his shoulder, to stop myself from crying out in weariness of his vanity and pettiness? Cruel! Because, occasionally, patience became exhausted at the mere contemplation of a man so thoroughly, greedily self-absorbed? . . .[6]

And Agnes, who had already suffered misery in an earlier union before she entered upon a common-law relationship with Lucas, realises now that she has wronged Sybil. She tells Lucas that she cannot continue to support him in his struggle with life:

> Never from me—never from me. For what am I? Untrue to myself, as you are untrue to yourself; false to others, as you are false to others; passionate, unstable, like yourself; like yourself a coward. . . . What a partnership it has been! How base and gross and wicked almost from the very beginning! We know each other now thoroughly—how base and wicked it would remain! No, go your way, Lucas, and let me go mine.[7]

The Duke has said that Lucas cannot live without Agnes: 'Reputation, fame, fortune, are nothing when weighed against—Mrs. Ebbsmith'.[8] But the 'hard smile' on Lucas's face as he turns from the room shows that Sybil and Agnes have been right in their analysis of his self-centredness. The idealistic free union has proved as disillusioning for Agnes as her earlier legal marriage.

The most sustained rendering of marital discord is, of course, *Mid-Channel*. Zoe Blundell's unconventional behaviour and her problems with Theodore are already well established when the play opens, though we may assume these two people enjoyed the respect of their friends at the time of their marriage and for some years afterwards. Zoe and Theodore are exceptional in Pinero's drama in that they are both unfaithful to their marriage vows. She has become, in a certain sense, a 'fallen woman', and Theodore refuses to countenance their living together any longer. The only alternatives to suicide which Zoe has left are either to involve herself in a nasty divorce action or to wander about on the fringes of society as a 'demimondaine' like the younger Paula Tanqueray. But such a woman cannot contemplate these choices for long: Zoe has always been very careful to protect her reputation—this is her motive in encouraging visits from a woman of propriety like Mrs. Pierpoint—and she needs the approval of society.

In *Mid-Channel*, Pinero attempts to explain a basic principle for a sound approach to marriage. Peter Mottram, the author's spokesman throughout the play, on one occasion likens marriage to a trip across the English Channel. About halfway there is a shoal: here the passengers begin to feel

'fidgety, restless, out o' sorts', hating themselves and their companions; a few minutes later, however, the sensation is over, and they are pacing the decks again arm in arm. Peter finds a resemblance between this experience and marriage 'at its best and brightest':

> The happiest and luckiest of married couples have got to cross that wretched Ridge. However successful the first half of their journey may be, there's the rough-and-tumble of mid-Channel to negotiate . . . and a bad time it is . . . when innoomerable kind words and innoomerable kind acts are clean forgotten. . . . But, as I tell you, it's soon over—*well* over, if only Mr. Jack and Mrs. Jill will understand the situation; if only they'll say to themselves, 'We're on the Ridge; we're in mid-Channel; in another quarter of an hour the boat'll be steady again—as steady as when we stepped onto the gangway.' [9]

Unfortunately, salutary little parables like this are unable to save the Blundells' marriage. It is doubtful that Theodore and Zoe were as steady when they 'stepped onto the gangway' as Peter imagines: Zoe herself attributes their failure in later years largely to their early decision to have no children—to devote themselves to 'getting on', both financially and socially. It is perhaps significant that in the major plays dealing with married life it is only the couple with children—Thaddeus and Phyllis Mortimore—who succeed in finding some happiness together.

There is an implication in the three instances of unhappy marriage in *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* that the husband in each case has been responsible for the failure, and the same is true to some extent with the Tanquerays and the Blundells. It is more difficult, however, in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and *Mid-Channel* to apportion the blame: the Blundell marriage in particular appears to have been deteriorating for some time, and we can discern a reluctance on both sides to make what concessions are needed to effect a proper reconciliation. With the introduction of the double standard of morality, though, we sense that Pinero's sympathy lies, as it usually does, with the woman in the case.

The Benefit of the Doubt, written fourteen years earlier than *Mid-Channel*, supplies us with an important clue to the dramatist's personal conviction that the husband is primarily responsible for achieving happiness in the marital relationship. Theophila Fraser philosophises to Jack Allingham:

> You know, there's always a moment in the lives of a man and woman who are tied to each other when the man has a chance of making the woman really, really, his own property. It's only a moment; if he lets the chance slip, it's gone —it never comes back. I fancy my husband had his chance today. . . . [10]

Theo is referring to the moment when Fraser announced his decision to forego the London season and their annual trip to Locheen. She herself believes the whole unsavoury affair of Mrs. Allingham's suit for judicial separation can best be handled by plunging into the whirl of London society. In this way she can prove that she is, indeed, deserving of the 'benefit of the doubt'. Fraser dismisses his wife's suggestion out of hand:

> Fraser: . . . People shall not see me play-acting——
> Theo: Play-acting——!
> Fraser: Yes, before I go among people, to try to convince *them*, I have to try to convince *myself*.[11]

And he adds, 'For the present, there's something even more important than regaining the good opinion of others—there is ourselves.' Theo thus learns

not only that her husband, despite the court's verdict and her own protestations, finds it difficult to believe in her innocence, but also that their husband-wife relationship is in jeopardy. Before the night is out she is to discover that Jack Allingham has conspired at his wife's eavesdropping on their private conversation, and then Theo's disillusionment with the two principal men in her life will be complete.

Fraser of Locheen is a realist who entertains fewer delusions about himself and his wife, and about society in general, than most of Pinero's central characters. He is also, however, less flexible than most, for he shares the Victorian prejudice against women who engage in unconventional conduct and encourage indiscreet friendships. The ordeal which Theo has just come through—and come through in a more honest fashion than one might have expected—entitles her to more understanding from her husband than Fraser is capable of showing.

This sort of critical moment in the relationship of two married people occurs many times in Pinero's drama, and it is the failure of one partner, usually the husband, to treat the other with sympathetic insight that produces tragic disillusionment. Theodore Blundell (*Mid-Channel*) is afforded two opportunities to resolve his differences with Zoe. When Peter Mottram suggests he take her on a Channel trip, he agrees readily enough; but then he sets the stage for another bitter quarrel by insisting upon reserving rooms in a cheaper hotel. A more serious error is his later refusal to pardon her infidelity after he has obtained her forgiveness for his own philandering. This sharp rejection drives her back to Leonard Ferris, who has already determined to marry Ethel Pierpoint because of Zoe's efforts to bring about a reconciliation with her husband. The realisation that neither man really wants her any more, together with the social implications of her dilemma, impels Zoe to commit suicide.

Similarly, Filmer Jesson (*His House in Order*), under the influence of his dead wife's relatives, cannot make the slightest concession to his second wife, Nina. Ironically, his refusal to allow her, at a critical moment in their relationship, to occupy Annabel's old room, leads directly to Nina's discovery that he is not Derek's father. In contrast to Zoe, however, Nina Jesson is a woman of patient endurance, and despite her disillusionment with married life, she agrees to withhold the devastating news from her husband.

Pinero, naturally enough, regards mutual forbearance as essential to marital happiness; and he leaves no doubt that the misery he depicts results from an unwillingness in one of the partners to make allowances for the other's defects and weaknesses. Unlike the 'sainted Annabel', Nina is incapable of the 'order, method, regularity' required to keep Filmer Jesson's house in order. Instead of appreciating her finer qualities as a wife, he persists in judging her according to his own arbitrary catalogue of duties, in the process expressing regret at his mistake in marrying her. It is no wonder that Nina becomes thoroughly disillusioned with her role as 'The Second Mrs. Jesson'. It is painfully evident that this failure to show understanding and compassion is due to a slavish adherence to a set of conventions which render impossible the maintenance of a true love relationship in marriage.

Perhaps no character in all of Pinero suffers so many disillusioning experiences as Iris Bellamy, the heroine of *Iris* (1901). Archie Kane's theft of her money, Maldonado's shrewd capitalisation upon her weaknesses, Fanny Sylvain's desertion, Laurence Trenwith's somewhat priggish rejection of her, and Maldonado's final brutal dismissal—all these contribute to Iris's tragic decline from social esteem to degradation and disgrace. These are the very people who have spared her all along from the harsher realities of life, and she has become unduly reliant upon them. But, of course, they too have become somewhat disillusioned with her. The most poignant example of this is Croker Harrington, her faithful friend, whose loyalty is tested to the utmost during her term as Maldonado's mistress; when we meet him near the close of the play, his process of disenchantment is almost complete. Croker Harrington's state of mind at this point is illustrative of the sad condition to which many characters are reduced by the faithlessness or folly of individuals to whom they have remained devoted for too long and for the wrong reasons:

> Croker: Having lied for you plentifully to one (with a glance in Maldonado's direction) I am now employed to deceive the other. Have you any further degradation for me? How much lower is my insane devotion to bring me?—tell me that!
>
> Iris: Dear friend!
>
> Croker: Degradation! Yes, a hanger-on, a complacent hanger-on! And today the common go-between! Ah, you have crushed the life, the spirit, the manhood out of me! [12]

There is little doubt that Croker Harrington is not so concerned about his betrayal of Laurence and Maldonado as he is about the indignity of his treatment and the blemish on his own reputation as a result of his continuing association with a fallen woman. Nor is there any reason to believe that Iris's remorse is motivated by a higher consideration than the loss of her social prestige. Surely the most calamitous awakening in Pinero's drama comes to those who have lost their 'character' and thus surrendered their right to a place in respectable society.

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WHY THIS DREARY BATTLE?

The National Enterprise Board in perspective

by Arthur Palmer, M.P.

AN uncomplicated view of industry is that when its ownership is in private hands the workers are exploited for the profits of those private owners. Nationalise, transfer ownership to the State—on the assumption that the State represents the majority interest of the people—and the profits will flow back to the community: exploitation ends, the worker ceases to be a servant and with millions of his fellows becomes a master.

The practical difficulty about this view is that it never quite touches the ground of the real world anywhere. Apart from the legalistic point that ownership of shares does not constitute ownership of the enterprise, the 'owners' in private industry are not by any means always private individuals. The size of many enterprises, is so great that private owners, however rich, can no longer hope to control the equity, let alone control the policy; management, in fact, has largely become an independent professional craft. Also, shareholdings are often institutionalised: insurance companies, banks, trade unions, pension funds, and so on. Of course, these investing institutions are in the control of private persons subject to the perhaps inadequate checks of company law, but their freedom of financial manoeuvre is circumscribed by the need for insurance companies to meet their obligations to policy holders, by pension funds being obliged to pay pensions when due to employees, and by banks being compelled by the nature of their business to make available credit to millions of citizens directly or indirectly.

A fundamentalist view of industry which sees it only as a straight economic relationship between owners and the workers has been made doubly unreal by the vast growth since the turn of the present century, starting first in North America and Western Europe, of the mass consumer interest. Without the size and turnover of this market, large-scale production would be impossible. As anyone can see, looking at the crowded roads anywhere in the advanced industrial countries, motor-cars are not produced by exploited workers for a minority of wealthy people; they are produced mainly for the use of the worker citizens themselves, as are most other consumer goods.

British Labour Party publicity in successive General Election campaigns from the time when the Party was first a strong force in the House of Commons has given little prominence, *in fact*, to fundamentalist doctrine. The Party, anxious to achieve power by the consent of the people through the ballot box, knows that it strains the credibility of the voters too much to be anything other than pragmatic on the hustings about nationalisation. Most voters have an uncanny instinct for seeing that the question of who owns the tree is unimportant unless the quality of the fruit is good and there is enough of it available for the produce to be fairly shared. If a

change of ownership means that the tree will be better cared for and give improved fruit, that is all to the good but, in the end, it is by the quality of the fruit that the tree is judged.

In any post-war General Election campaign the amount of time in the speeches of the national leaders devoted to nationalisation advocacy as such has been slight. This is when comparison is made with the detailed treatment given to current topics such as industrial relations and the cost of living, or to the careful explanation of the Party's ideas on pensions, housing, education and the like. My point is that the British Labour Party view, in the present as in the past, emphasises the need for a greater degree of control over industry by arguments for improved efficiency, greater accountability and more opportunities for workers and consumers to order affairs and is obliged to do this because of the nature of the democratic process.

In any case, whether Labour nationalises enterprises, leaves them in private ownership, establishes worker cooperative ownership or consolidates 'mixed' ownership—part public, part private—they will still have in the end to compete in the market, attempt to make working profits or surpluses, build up reserves and pay interest on borrowed money. State subsidisation under present inflationary pressures doesn't, I believe, take from the basic truth of that observation. No one has seriously suggested a Russian style 'Gosplan' for the United Kingdom, where you start centrally with the total of raw materials and labour and allocate to every part of the economy. Indeed, the National Enterprise Board, which terrifies still the Confederation of British Industry, is in many ways the antithesis of Soviet national planning but finds a ready enough acceptance in other Common Market countries.

If Labour now regards the State holding company—complete with a capitalist industrialist, Sir Don Ryder, at its head—as an up-to-date instalment of its industrial thinking, then the Italians have had, through IRI, this system for some time. Nor is there anything particularly original in the Common Market countries about Government holdings — minority or majority—in private companies. Today, there are more than two hundred mixed public and private undertakings in France alone; with all kinds of variations in the 'mix' in the other EEC countries. It is interesting to contrast similar motor-car enterprises in the United Kingdom, Western Germany and France. British Leyland is privately owned; the German Volkswagen is mixed ownership, while France has the fully nationalised Renault.

The fact is that the nationalisation versus free enterprise controversy which bothers and distracts so many people in Britain doesn't appear to attract a wide political interest across the Channel. This is not because the Left in Europe is enamoured of capitalism; this could hardly be the case in France and Italy where there are powerful mass Communist parties. It is rather because your typical continental industrialist or manager, unlike his British counterpart all too often, is both truly professional in relation to his job and a political realist about public affairs. State intervention has

no terrors for him; it has always been part of the system anyhow. Certainly he assumes a market economy and the operation of a price mechanism but he notes that the communist business men of the other half of Europe find increasingly such arrangements to be compatible with marxist theory.

Why, then, with the results of the two general elections of 1974 determining the political direction of Britain for some years to come and the likelihood at least of the country remaining in the EEC under Labour, does this dreary wordy battle of 'nationalisation' against 'private enterprise' drag on in our mixed economy when neither expression has much connection with the facts of life? It is largely because of those in the Labour Party who, for a variety of reasons, make out Labour's pragmatic industrial policies to be some kind of revolutionary overturn and because of those in British industry who are stupid enough to believe them. In short, the myth dominates and we all suffer under its tyranny.

[Arthur Palmer is Labour and Co-op Member of Parliament for Bristol North East.]

HENRY FUSELI

by Ernle Money

'HE is everything in extremes—always an original. His look is lightning, his word is a thunderstorm; his jest is death, his revenge hell. He cannot draw a single mean breath. He never draws portraits, his features are all true, yet at the same time caricature . . . '

The Swiss physiognomist Lavater was writing of his boyhood friend Henry Füssli (or as he later anglicised his surname, Fuseli), who has just been the subject of a major exhibition at the Tate Gallery. It is clear from this passage that the problem which the artist presented even to his most sympathetic contemporaries was very much the same one that he still presents to us to-day.

Fuseli was born in Zurich in 1741, the son of a successful if minor artist and literary figure. Significantly his father did not want his son to follow him in his own calling, according to the Redgraves, on the basis that he was physically awkward and had a lack of manual dexterity. He became instead, at his father's behest, a Zwinglian minister, though it is hard to think of a more unsuitable calling for a man of the younger Füssli's temperament. He absorbed a mixture of Rousseauist philosophy and Wincklemann's theories on classic art.

Characteristically, together with Lavater, he made Zurich too hot to hold him by attacking the conduct of an unjust magistrate in that city. He went to Berlin and other parts of Germany and wrote on literary and aesthetic subjects and eventually accompanied the retiring British chargé d'affaires in Berlin, Sir Andrew Mitchell, to London in 1764. From then on, except for a period between 1770 and 1778 when he studied art in Rome, his career was entirely based on England. He became in time an accepted figure in English intellectual and artistic circles, a full member of the Royal Academy in 1790 and subsequently both professor of painting and Keeper there.

Fuseli was a leading precursor of neo-classicism and romantic art in this country and he became the most significant figure in what was termed by his contemporaries the school of 'historic art', as opposed to the tradition of history painters. Through Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and his own commercially unsuccessful but important Milton Gallery, he exercised a great deal of influence on the taste of his time. Not only was he a close friend and ally of William Blake, but he also influenced, through his own work and his lectures, two successive generations of artists, including such figures at Benjamin Haydon, the Runcimans, Northcote, Opie and Lawrence. He died in 1825 and was honoured with the unusual privilege for any artist other than a President of the Royal Academy of being buried in St. Paul's, next to Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Fuseli has become increasingly a cult figure in recent years, and with the European-wide recent interest in neo-classicism his pictures have been widely studied by art writers, both in the context of their period and with

more specialised implications for their psychological and erotic background. Since the war he has been the subject of a number of different exhibitions in Switzerland, Germany, Britain and America and a great deal has been written on him. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that he has been thought the subject for a major exhibition which has already been seen in Hamburg and, after London, is due to be seen later on in the year at the Petit Palais in Paris.

Whether such an extensive exhibition is entirely to the advantage of Fuseli's reputation is not an easy question to answer. Seen individually, as they have been from time to time in the general pattern of larger exhibitions like the Royal Academy's *European Masters of the 18th Century* in 1954-55 and *The Age of Neo-Classicism* in 1972, his pictures have seemed strikingly impressive in an eerily individual way. Seen together in some considerable number, it becomes increasingly clear that Fuseli was, in the main, a surprisingly poor painter, with an uneven technique and a limited knowledge of colour, but at the same time a draughtsman of remarkable skill and great poetic imagination. The inherent contradiction in his achievement is therefore more than a little complex.

Part of the problem lies in his lack of adequate early formal training. His biographer, Knowles, says that he was twenty-five before he used oil colours for the first time and was so inattentive to these materials throughout his life that he took no pains in their choice or manipulation. According to Knowles, it was out of the question for Fuseli to set a palette as an artist would usually do, but he would use many of his colours in a dry powdered state and rub them up with his pencil either just in oil or in a solution made by adding spirit of turpentine. He was twenty-nine before he decided to become a professional painter at all and went to Italy to study.

How, ask the Redgraves, disapprovingly, could such carelessness result in anything but the premature decay of his work? They go on to complain about both his technical ability ('this resulted not only in his not attaining the rank of a colourist, but in the early and total destruction of many of his pictures') but his failure to carry out in practice the nobility of his ideas.

> Grand in intention, revelling in the mystic and terrible, and with a wild energy of action that defies the charge of being theatrical, bordering as it does on the fearful; having indeed a formed and marked style, he yet entirely fails to satisfy us. He has no refinement nor accuracy of drawing, many of his attitudes are are impossible; his females are somewhat more than masculine, they are absolutely coarse and at times disgusting; while his entire want of knowledge of the elementary laws of colouring and processes of painting not only hindered him from developing his innate sense of colour, but, from the imperfect methods he resorted to, have left us too often contemplating fading ghosts and moribund canvasses.

The only thing that they can add by way of mitigating this judgement is the comment that a formal education, though it might have given him the language in which to express his concepts, might have served to tame down their originality and poetic feeling.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century when the Redgraves were writing, critics have been increasingly preoccupied with this dichotomy in

his achievement. Despite modern methods of conservation, the colouring of many of his oil paintings has continued to deteriorate and his pictures give a curiously strained impression accordingly. As a draughtsman, however, he has come to be increasingly regarded and is now considered as one of the most skilful and effective line artists of his time. He has also recently been the subject of a good deal of post-Freudian analysis and approach, of which Dr. Werner Hofmann's introductory article in the Tate Gallery catalogue is a very fair specimen.

Fuseli's own views on the purposes of art, as expressed in his various writings and his Royal Academy lectures, were comparatively simple by comparison. 'It is ludicrous', he wrote in 1793, 'to give a consequence to the arts which they can never possess. Their moral usefulness is at the best accidental and negative. It is their greatest praise to furnish the most innocent amusement for those nations to whom luxury is become as necessary as existence, and amongst whom alone they can rear themselves to any degree of eminence.'

In his last three lectures, published in 1823, he takes this theme even further:

> Neither Poetry nor Painting spring from the necessities of society, or furnish necessaries to life; offsprings of fancy, leisure and lofty contemplation, organs of religion and government, ornaments of society and too often mere charms of the senses and instruments of luxury, they derive their excellence from novelty, degree and polish. What none indispensably want, all may wish for, but few only are able to procure, acquires its value from some exclusive quality, founded on intrinsinc, or some conventional merit and that, or an equal substitute, mediocrity cannot reach.

Fuseli's fusing of the subjects of Poetry and Painting in a single interpretative function was typical of his period. He remained broadly faithful to the original influences of his youth, Homer, the Nibelunglied, Dante, Shakespeare and Milton, though to these were added later Ossian and, rather surprisingly, William Cowper. Subjects drawn from these writers and the depiction of the human figure involved in these scenes provided nearly all his material. This field has just been extremely well dealt with in *Milton and English Art* by Marcia R. Pointon, published by the Manchester University Press in 1970. The theory was that Painting could serve Poetry by interpreting the same scenes with which it dealt in a sympathetic fashion. A visitor to Fuseli's Milton Gallery is said to have enquired of the artist, whom he did not recognise, what was the subject of one of the pictures exhibited. 'It is the bridging of Chaos', he replied, 'the subject from Milton.' 'No wonder', said the questioner, 'that I did not know it, for I never read Milton, but I will.' 'I advise you not to', came the reply, 'for you will find it a d——d tough job!'

Fuseli's pictures were intended, therefore, as the Redgraves imply, to appeal primarily to the mind rather than to the eye of the public. Although today they catch the attention for their visual qualities rather than their literary associations, their imaginative quality remains intense. *The Nightmare*, for example, which has been lent to the present exhibition by the Detroit Institute of Art, must be one of the most widely discussed eighteenth

century pictures in the world and is in some ways an archetypal subject piece of its era. 'Although *The Nightmare* may now seem ludicrously conscious', writes Mr. Michael Levey in *Rococo to Revolution,* 'still it pays tribute, fascinated tribute, to the derangement of reason, emphasising the strength of horrid fantasy and the weakness of mankind. In that world it is irrationality that reigns, with licence to distort reality in the interests of obsession, reminding us of de Sade.'

In this fantasy world on which so many of Fuseli's pictures were based, the atmosphere is either going to catch the imagination of the observer or it can go very wrong indeed. The illustrations for Shakespeare, for instance, range from highly dramatic conceptions like *The Witches Appearing to Macbeth and Banquo or The King of Denmark Poisoned by his Brother While Sleeping* to the mawkish if sinister sentimentality of *Titania's Awakening.* Repeatedly, however, it is the drawings which seem to have the advantage over the paintings. The major force here on Fuseli was Michaelangelo who became a decisive influence with him during his Roman visit. The study of this master gave him a quality of monumentality and boldness in his figure drawing, which is sometimes very striking. Frequently, as with Blake, a subject is taken from an unusual angle (for example in his *Self-portrait* drawing, lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum, or some of the splendid Nibelung drawings. Distortions are used, or the flow of figures is extended, to heighten the drama of classic subjects like (the drawn version from the Kunsthalle, Zurich) of *Achilles Grasping at the Shade of Patroclus* The effect is greatly to intensify the feeling of movement and force in the scenes depicted. It is interesting to compare, for example, the splendid drawing of *Silence* (from the British Museum) with the oil painting of the same subject (from Berne). To show his capacity for bringing drama to the most recondite of subjects, *Ezzelin and the Repentant Meduna,* lent by the Zurich Kunsthalle, is the sketch for a picture which greatly caught the imagination of Lord Byron when he first saw it in 1814. Byron searched through Italian literature for the subject, in vain, until Fuseli at last admitted to him that he had made the story up. This fits, incidentally, with what we know of Fuseli's particular and peculiar sense of humour. 'Strowger', he once called to the porter at the Royal Academy, 'bring me my umbrella. I am going to see Mr. Constable's pictures.'

His place in English art is a unique one and we have good reason to be grateful for the institutions in Hamburg and Zurich who have co-operated with the Tate Gallery in producing an exhibition which is important not only for Fuseli's own particular standing but for his subsequent significance as an influence on modern art. Perhaps the most suitable summary on Fuseli lies with Sir Thomas Lawrence, who both liked and admired him greatly. 'In poetic invention', he wrote to Uwins just after Fuseli's death, 'it is not too much to say that he had no equal since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and if his drawings and proportions were mannered and sometimes carried to excess, still it was exaggeration of the grandeur of antique form and not, as in many, enlargement of the mean and ordinary in nature.'

THE SHOT HEARD ROUND THE WORLD (Part One)

by Esmond Wright

ON April 19th almost every town in New England and many throughout the United States will celebrate the 200th anniversary of Patriot Day. Most of the towns that sent Minute Men to the Battle of Concord in 1775 will re-enact the events of that day. North Reading will re-stage the ride of its own Paul Revere, Ephraim Pratt. A man on horseback will ride down Route 409 through Medfield, Westwood, Dedham and into Millis sounding the alarm. There is to be a race from Charlestown, where Revere landed, to Concord—not, however, by horses but by bicycles.

Every American child, of course, is brought up on the legends that surround the events of that day, and especially perhaps of the night before it. Emerson in 1836 wrote the Concord Hymn, the first four lines of which are inscribed on the Battle Monument—a battle that took place near the Emerson family house, the Old Manse, for in 1775 his grandfather was minister in Concord.

> By the rude bridge that arched the flood
> Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
> Here once the embattled farmers stood
> And fired the shot heard round the world.

Emerson was guilty of a poet's hyperbole, however, in transferring to Concord the glory of the shot actually fired at Lexington.

Longfellow wrote at length of the famous ride of Paul Revere, drawing his facts from those written down by Revere, 24 years after the event, for Jeremy Belknap, the Massachusetts collector of records, and printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collection.

> He said to his friend, 'If the British march
> By land or sea from the town to-night,
> Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
> Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—
> One, if by land, and two, if by sea;
> And I on the opposite shore will be,
> Ready to ride and spread the alarm
> Through every Middlesex village and farm,
> For the country folk to be up and to arm.'
>
> Then he said, 'Good night' and with muffled oar
> Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
> Just as the moon rose over the bay,
> Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
> The Somerset, British man-of-war;
> A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
> Across the moon like a prison bar,
> And a huge black hulk, that was magnified
> By its own reflection in the tide . . .

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat . . .

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm,—
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore!
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,
Through all our history to the last,
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

How much is truth, how much legend? And can we nowadays separate one from the other?

In the early days of April 1775, Boston was a small town, of some 25,000 people, but the largest town and the busiest port in North America. It was dominated by its many wharves and its 160 warehouses—the Long Wharf ran out into the bay for some 2,000 feet, and ships of all sizes could tie up there—and by its twenty churches, for it was still a city of the Puritans; profit and pride in profit were next to Godliness. The John Hancock who, fifteen months later, was first to put his name—and in a big scrawl, so it could be read clearly—to the Declaration of Independence, was one of the most wealthy of Bostonians (just as George Washington was one of the wealthiest of Virginians) and he drew his profits from his ships, his supply business to Nova Scotia and to the Newfoundland fishing fleet, and his—sometimes illicit—cargoes of molasses, of Madeira and of tea. The city was a peninsula, linked to the mainland only by a narrow isthmus known as Boston Neck.

Boston was prosperous; it thrived by trade, and by fishing the Grand Banks and the inshore waters for cod, herring and mackerel. It produced none of the staple crops—tobacco and sugar, rice and indigo—that the South did, and which tied the South firmly to Britain as a raw-materials supplier. At the end of the 17th century British imports to New England were one-eighth as large as those to Maryland and Virginia; in 1769, despite a considerable increase, less than a third. Boston's trade was more often with Britain's rivals and enemies in the French or Dutch West Indies than with Britain. The Navigation Acts—which directed that the Colonies could trade only with the Mother Country and must ship their cargoes only in British or in colonial ships—might suit the South, though they left it

indebted to and dependent on Britain, but certainly did not suit New England. A Bostonian with money to spend could buy his silver and pewter, his clothes and his wigs, in Boston rather than by depending on London. There was coming to be a wish to break away in politics, as already in trade and commerce.

This was, however, as yet hardly visible, and perhaps only one Bostonian, crotchety Sam Adams, 52 years old and a failure in business, was ready to talk of independence. As late as March 1776 his cousin John Adams of Braintree—who had defended the British sentries accused of killing five colonists in a snowball fight that blew up into a massacre in March 1770—said that 'Independency is a Hobgoblin of so frightful Mien that it would throw a delicate person into Fits to look it in the Face.'

Indeed, quite a few Americans believed that they had everything to gain by postponing the day of separation, since it was coming to be generally believed that the rapidly increasing population in America would soon outstrip that of Great Britain, and thus the balance of empire would shift steadily and automatically westward across the Atlantic. Benjamin Franklin calculated that Americans doubled their population once every twenty years; they had only to wait and they could make their own terms with King and Parliament. James Otis believed that the time was not far remote when 100 million people would inhabit the colonies. Dr. Samuel Johnson put it more explicitly in lamenting that His Majesty's overseas subjects were stiff-necked republicans, who multiplied 'with the fecundity of their own rattlesnakes.'

There were, however, two forces pushing towards confrontation, if not towards independence. They were the newspapers, overwhelmingly Patriot in content, and the now-disturbing number of mobs and gangs on the streets, spoiling for trouble and glad for a fight with the British redcoats, 'the bloody-backs,' 'the lobster-backs.' The Press, for the most part weekly or twice-weekly fly-sheets, often with out-of-date London news or gossip, was almost unanimously anti-British in tone. A considerable pamphleteering and sermon-printing industry was developing, and many of the colonial protests since the debate over the Stamp Act in 1765 were in circulation.

The troops, the 14th and 29th of Foot, had been brought in in 1768 to keep the peace, but their presence came to be so much criticised that from 1770 they were confined to an island, Castle William, two miles offshore, and thus both powerless and provocative. Too many of them were compelled to supplement their pay by seeking jobs as casual labourers, and this did not enhance their popularity. The Boston Town Meeting, the illegally-constituted but *de facto* government, declared that the regiments could remain only if the Massachusetts Assembly—and not the London Parliament—approved.

Rioting, of course, had long been a feature of Boston—as of London—life in the eighteenth century. But now it was recurrent. There were ringleaders who could call out the mob, like Isaac Sears in New York or Ebenezer Mackintosh in Boston. Revere, as a leader of the 'Mechanic' class, could also provide willing political activists when they were needed.

The most dangerous aspect of the activity of these and similar para-revolutionary groups—the Sons of Liberty, the Mohawk River Indians, the Philadelphia Patriotic Society, the Sons of Neptune, the gangs of Boston and New York—was the contempt they induced for the law and for the governors, for the officials, and for the troops who tried, often half-heartedly, to enforce it. The customs commissioners reported from Boston as early as 1768:

> We shall find it totally impracticable to enforce the Execution of the Revenue Laws until the Hand of Government is strengthened. At present not a ship of war in the Province, nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York, which is two hundred and fifty Miles distant from this Place.

Not that there was yet any overt quarrel with the King. All the protests were at the wickedness of the King's Ministers and his Parliament. The attack on the 'Royal Brute' had to await the savagery of Tom Paine, in *Common Sense* in January 1776; and Paine had been, it should be remembered, only 18 months in America when he wrote it. What did obtain in Boston—and perhaps only in Boston—was massive positive resistance against every British decree. The reason was that when Boston, in protesting against being taxed by a Parliament in which it was not represented, refused to load taxed tea in December 1773 and dumped it in the Bay, the British Government passed a succession of measures to curb its freedom. In the spring of 1774, to be effective in the summer, the 'Intolerable' or Coercive Acts were passed. The port of Boston was closed until the tea should be paid for. The Quartering Act was re-enacted for all thirteen colonies, and included occupied dwellings. The Administration of Justice Act provided for the removal for trial elsewhere, of royal officials accused of capital offences in Massachusetts, despite the fair trial given the 'offenders' in the Boston Massacre. The Massachusetts Government Act substituted for a civil a new military governor, General Gage, with an appointed council and appointed sheriffs and justices. The Town Meeting, cradle of New England democracy, but seen now as the centre of sedition, was to meet only by permission of the governor and after he had approved its agenda. The colony's government was transferred to Salem.

Boston, 'obstinate, undutiful and ungovernable from the very beginning,' must be brought to heel. The 'punitive acts' of 1774 were passed in a mood in Britain of near-unanimity. Boston, as a result, was a ghost-port, 'our wharfs . . . entirely deserted,' wrote John Andrews, 'not a topsail to be seen, save the ships of war.' When, in 1774, General Gage brought several British regiments back into the town itself, the citizens refused to provide barracks and the troops had thus to remain encamped on Boston Common until November, to the great unhappiness of Boston's cows who were thus deprived of their favourite pasture. Carpenters were forbidden to help construct barracks, no lumber was permitted to be brought into the city, and the merchants refused to sell the soldiers blankets or tools of any kind. It was worse than this. As the press thundered, 'neither our Wives, Daughters or even Grandmothers would be safe.' They painted a horrendous picture of the impact on the pure morals of New England of the presence of a licentious soldiery. Americans would 'look jolly, frolick, and revel,

frequent bawdy houses, race horses and fight cocks on Sundays, drink profane and obscene toasts and damn the sons of liberty.'

In response to British intransigence came colonial preparedness. Minute Men like Paul Revere were enlisted, to shoulder arms in defence or to ride as couriers and aides. Revere had ridden to New York after the Tea Party in December 1773, and twice in 1774 after the Port Bill was passed, and again in September with the news of the Suffolk Resolves. By the spring of 1775 there were militia companies in every town in Massachusetts. Intelligence was organised, and with every tavern, printing shop and doctor's surgery as sounding boards, and troops quartered in the town, news of British troop movements was not difficult to collect. Both sides had spies and informers, and everywhere 'sedition flowed copiously from the pulpits.' Moreover, it was common knowledge that the British commander, General Gage—to arch Tories and his own officers 'The old woman,' to George III 'The Mild General,' and to fervid Yankees a 'Turkish Bashaw,' but in fact a patient and intelligent man, married to a Philadelphia girl, and fully aware that if it came to a showdown he needed at least four times the number of troops that were available—was under orders to prevent the colonial militia collecting powder and/or arms. He had tried and failed six months before to capture arms and supplies stored at Salem. On April 16th he received a scolding letter from Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, urging action on him. 'The violence committed by those who have taken up arms in Massachusetts,' explained Lord Dartmouth, 'have appeared to me as the acts of a rude rabble, without plan, without concert, without conduct, and therefore I think that a small force now, if put to the test, would be able to conquer them with greater probability of success, than might be expected of a larger army, if the people should be suffered to form themselves upon a more regular plan.' Dartmouth's letter was the spur to action. Treason must now be punished. The instructions arrived at a propitious time. After much debate the Congress had finally authorised the raising of an 18,000-men army, but had then adjourned to enlist the participation of the other New England colonies in the enterprise. 'A sudden blow struck now . . . ' advised Gage's anonymous informer, 'would oversett all their plans.'

The facts about the night of April 18/19 are clear enough. Paul Revere, the Boston silversmith, to whose business the presence of the British Army had brought much profit, had already established himself—even in the London newspapers—as a major courier of the Patriot forces; and he had become a friend and associate of Dr. Joseph Warren, perhaps the ablest colonial leader, and the nearest to a Chief of Intelligence, on the Patriot side. On the previous Sunday, Revere had alerted their friends, and especially Colonel Conant of the Charlestown Committee of Safety, across the Bay, of the likelihood of a British attempt to seize supplies that were being stockpiled at Concord, 20 miles away. On March 30 the Provincial Congress had advised its constituents that whenever five hundred regulars marched into the countryside with artillery and baggage train, 'it ought to be deemed a design to carry into execution by Force the late Acts of Parliament.' The provincials should therefore sound the alarm and immed-

iately form an 'Army of Observation . . . to act solely on the defensive as long as it can be justified on the Principles of Reason and Self-Preservation and [no] longer.' If the Boston townspeople were kept confined to town by a curfew on the nights that the troops moved, they planned 'if the British went out by water, to show two lanterns on the North Church steeple; and if by land, one as a signal, for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River or get over Boston Neck.'

In the evening of the 18th, the news reached Dr. Warren that British troops, chiefly grenadiers and light infantry, were being marched down to the shore on the Back Bay. To alert the Middlesex countryside, Dr. Warren sent the courier William Dawes over the Neck, and he successfully slipped past the casual British guards posted there. Revere, much better known as a patriot express rider and more easily recognisable, was charged with the more risky task of crossing the Charles in the shadow of the British man-of-war, the *Somerset*, and to ride to Lexington to warn Sam Adams and Hancock, and then to ride on to Concord. Revere first wakened the sexton of the North Church and asked him to display the lanterns to warn Conant. Then, with two friends as oarsmen, and with their oars carefully muffled with a woman's petticoat, they crossed the river downstream of the troops' rendezvous. 'It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising.'

It should, after that, have been an easy ride for Paul Revere. In fact it was far from it. He met Conant and others of the Committee of Safety in Charlestown, to be told that they had already sent off their own scout to warn Adams and Hancock (scout no. 3, we will call him). This scout must, however, have been intercepted by one or other of the British riding parties who were patrolling the countryside expressly to prevent any news of the operation getting through. Revere borrowed 'a very good horse'—as he described it—from Deacon John Larkin, who was never to see it again, for it, too, though frequently portrayed on coin and in print, was to disappear into legend. It was eleven o'clock. He had an eleven mile ride over desolate country, a region of salt marshes, clay pits and scrub, with the tang of the sea in the chill air. The moon was rising. In all the sketches he is shown as a lithe and slim young man on a dashing steed. He was in fact short and stocky, aged 40, twice married and, at that point, the father of nine children; the horse was a stout work horse.

He had not gone far before he saw two British horsemen, and to escape from them had to take a detour by way of Medford, where he warned the local Minute Men. The countryside seemed to be dotted with British officers and troopers riding patrol. General Gage was taking precautions, though of a gentlemanly kind. Revere reached Lexington, still known locally as Cambridge Farms, at midnight, and roused Adams and Hancock, who were staying at the Manse of the Rev. Jonas Clarke—a house John Hancock knew well, since Clarke had, 20 years before, succeeded as pastor Hancock's grandfather, the redoubtable John Hancock, known locally, and proud to be known, as 'Bishop' Hancock.

Jonas Clarke, who had a reputation for preaching sermons considered

long even in those days, and who once prayed without a break for two hours, had no less than twelve children. His wife was a grand-daughter of 'Bishop' Hancock. Early each morning he stood at the foot of the stairs and summoned his family by saying—'Polly Betsy Lucy Liddy Patty Sally Thomas James William Peter Bowen Harry—get up! Woe to the delinquent.' He was a man of stentorian voice and great energy. He supplemented his income as pastor—£80 and 20 cords of wood—by running a 60 acre farm. He was a political activist, and the Lexington town records are thick with his protests, from those against the Stamp Act in 1765 to those against Jay's Treaty 30 years later. He was one of that Harvard generation spellbound by the 'gentle tender affectionate' President, Edward Holyoke, who spread the light of John Locke's rationalism through New England. As early as 1736, long before any sign of a clash with the Mother Country, Holyoke used language that seemed to anticipate that of the Declaration of Independence forty years later:

> All forms of government originate from the people. . . . As these forms then have originated from the people, doubtless they may be changed whensoever the body of them choose to make such an alteration.

On the night of the 18th April, Pastor Clarke was sheltering not only Sam Adams and John Hancock, but Hancock's formidable aunt Lydia, of whom the nephew stood in awe since he wanted her fortune, and Hancock's cousin and girl-friend Dorothy Quincy, almost as spirited a lady as her aunt, and whom it was the firm intention of the strong-minded aunt and of the equally strong-minded young lady that Hancock should marry. Even in times of crisis, families come first. It was thus a crowded household of 18 souls. There was likely to be little sleep for any of them now. (Although, since local riders had already noticed British officers and troopers on patrol and warned the household of this fact, and the house was guarded by at least nine Minute Men, there is a minor mystery how and why Adams and Hancock could be asleep at all when Revere appeared.) Hancock, whom a contemporary described as having shallow brains but deep pockets, wanted to join the Minute Men at once with drawn sword, and had to be persuaded to a wiser course by Sam Adams. They had been attending the Provincial Congress at Concord and were on their way to Philadelphia, as representatives-elect to the Second Constitutional Congress to be held next month.

Not that 52-year-old Adams, his voice and hands shaking with palsy, looked the part of a revolutionary. His suits were old and stained. When he went as a delegate to the first Congress his friends in Boston had clubbed together to provide him with a special outfit of clothes. As Joseph Galloway, his contemporary in Philadelphia, put it: 'Sam Adams eats little, drinks little and is . . . indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects.' He could call out the Boston mob; he could organise a riot whenever he chose, as he demonstrated in the Boston Tea Party; having created his story he could then spread it fast through newspaper articles and Massacre Orations; and through it all he knew his own limitations. He was a backroom organiser and schemer par excellence. In John Hancock, the rich young Boston merchant, with his taste for beautifully tailored coats and for splendid carriages, he had an ideal front man whom he could manipulate to his

taste. He was not to be the man of the hour, but if there was an author of the troubles—the 'Chief Incendiary' was Governor Hutchinson's phrase for him—it was Sam Adams. Dawes joined Revere and, their horses rested and their warnings given, they rode off once more.

They did not know the road to Concord well, and may have been taking this part of the journey at a more leisurely pace. At any rate, they met or were overtaken by yet another courier, Dr. Samuel Prescott, rider no. 4. Indeed, a reader may wonder if anyone at all was asleep that night in the Massachusetts countryside, and whether everyone between Charlestown and Concord was engaged on night manoeuvres. But Dr. Prescott is worth a note in history. He was a 24-year-old Concord doctor, the son and grandson of doctors, who was returning home after courting his girl Lydia Mulliken, who lived on the main road in Lexington. Her brother Nathaniel was a Minute Man, who had already been alerted of the coming of the red-coats, and it can be assumed that Dr. Prescott was given that night little time or privacy for his Lydia. Since there were six other children in this family too, privacy was a rarity anyway. Next day, the Mulliken house was burned to the ground by the British in their retreat back to Boston; it seemed to shelter snipers and it was on the line of march.

Dr. Prescott set off back to Concord to warn his town himself. Dawes and Revere found his company congenial, and Revere described him as 'a high son of Liberty.' It was well he was. For the trio were surprised by yet another British scouting party, and forced into a pasture near what is now Lincoln—a field that has now a historical marker all to itself. Prescott jumped his horse over a stone wall and got away. Dawes also got away, but fell and lost his horse and his watch, and had to walk back through the woods to Lexington. Revere did not hide from his captors who he was, nor what he was doing, but said that he had alarmed all the countryside and that 500 men were prepared to resist the British. Before they got him back to Lexington, they took Deacon Larkin's horse away from him and gave it to a sergeant of grenadiers whose own horse was tired, and they then set Revere free, but on foot. He arrived back in Lexington as dawn broke and the Minute Men were assembling for a second time on the Green. He did not join them. Having ensured that Adams and Hancock had gone, he went to the Tavern to collect a box of papers they left behind.

So—ironically—Deacon Larkin's horse joined the British, and it was neither Dawes nor Revere who warned the good folk of Concord but their own Doctor Prescott, who had heard the news quite independently, and who allowed them to hide their store of arms. In a sense neither Revere nor Dawes need have stirred from their beds that night. And it is surprising that Revere did. Only eighteen months before, he had married his second wife. But perhaps his household of nine children and another on the way, drove him out of doors. But for Dr. Prescott there was no such future. He never married his Lydia; he served with the Congressional army, was captured, and died in a British prison at Halifax in 1777. And Nathaniel Mulliken, who might have been his brother-in-law, died anyway, a year before he did. For many people, then, whether in peace or war, life was short and nasty.

At least it is clear that the British forces were expected. Like most secrets, this had been very badly kept. As dawn broke and a strong east wind was rising, they did appear, and William Diamond's drum beat the second summons to the Patriots. The redcoats had been held up for three hours in Cambridge, waiting for supplies, and they should, had plans gone smoothly, already have reached, not Lexington, but Concord. They had been landed at Lechmere Point, and because the water was too shallow to permit the boats to touch dry land, the men had to wade ashore. By this time the countryside was aroused; the Lexington church bell was tolling; there were occasional sounds of musket shots and of men astir. Colonel Francis Smith's column of 700 heavily-laden men, with Major Pitcairn of the Marines leading an advance corps of six light infantry companies, moved into view.

[Professor Esmond Wright is Director of the Institute of United States Studies, University of London. Part Two of *The Shot Heard Round the World* will be published in the May issue.]

The May issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Gough Whitlam's Impact on Australia* by Keith D. Suter, *Overcoming the Atlantic Malaise* by H. J. MacMoolson, *The Royal Society* by Sir David Martin, C.B.E. and *Britain's Trade and the European Communities: The Facts* by Michael Lloyd.

Moral Judgements and Political Prejudices by Geoffrey Stern has been unavoidably held over and will be published in the May issue.

MASSENET — AN APOLOGIA

by Elizabeth Forbes

LESS than 20 years ago it was still true to state, as Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor did in the *Record Guide* (revised edition, 1955), that Massenet 'is usually dismissed by English taste as a kind of inferior Gounod . . . ' Even now, when Massenet's reputation has risen greatly in public—and critical—esteem, a kind of artistic Puritanism seems to inhibit the English response to French opera in general, and to the works of Massenet in particular. *Manon*, it is true, has never been absent for long from the London stage; it was the second opera to be produced by the infant company at Covent Garden in 1947 and is now in the repertory of the English National Opera at the Coliseum. *Werther*, heard at Sadler's Wells in the fifties, was performed at Glyndebourne in the sixties. *Sapho* and *La Navarraise* were given airings at the Camden Festival, while *Cendrillon* and *Don Quichotte* turned up at Fulham Town Hall. During 1974 *Thaïs* could be discovered in Manchester and at Wexford, while *Esclarmonde* made a rare appearance in San Francisco. There was also a concert performance in London of the oratorio *Marie-Magdeleine*.

Marie-Magdeleine was Massenet's first public success. He had already had two operas performed at the Opéra-Comique in Paris when his sacred drama was sung at the Odéon in 1873, with Pauline Viardot-Garcia in the title role, but neither had created much excitement. Their interest now lies in their casts, as the heroine of the one-act *La Grand'Tante* was sung by Marie Heilbronn, later the first Manon, while *Don César de Bazan* boasted among its principals Marie Galli-Marié, Paul Lhérie and Jacques Bouhy—the future Carmen, Don José and Escamillo at the première of Bizet's *Carmen*. But it is worth looking more closely at *Marie-Magdeleine*, as the work epitomises many of the traits in Massenet to which the British most object.

The French critics received the work with rapture: 'A new thing in music!' exclaimed one. 'An oratorio without dry fugues or contrapuntal ensembles, but full of life and love and melody! What joy! ' Saint-Saëns thought that 'Massenet's muse . . . loves to please, and she puts flowers in her hair', but the sterner English were shocked: 'It was the Bible doctored up in a manner suitable to the taste of impressionable Parisian ladies' wrote Arthur Hervey, 'utterly inadequate for the theme, at the same time very charming and effective.' There speaks the typical Anglo-Saxon embarrassment at the mixture of love and religion, of the erotic and the mystical, to be found in so many French operas from Meyerbeer and Halévy to Gounod and Massenet. It needed a Frenchman to point out that the Bible, for Massenet, was simply a book of poetic legends, like the *Vedas*, the *Iliad* or the *Nibelungenlied*, from which to quarry his librettos.

In 1877 Massenet established his true métier when *Le Roi de Lahore* was produced at the Opéra, and obtained a considerable success. This opera also launched the composer's international fame, as it was taken up by many

Italian theatres, including La Scala, early in 1879, and also by Covent Garden later the same year, when it was indulgently received. But Massenet, though he remained susceptible to adverse criticism all his life, did not allow praise or adulation to turn his head. While working on the score of *Le Roi de Lahore* during the spring and summer of 1875, he had been shocked, first by the virulence of the attack on *Carmen* by the French musical establishment, and then by the death of Bizet only a few months later. He took the lesson to heart, and so was partially armoured against the disappointent when the Opéra turned down his next stage work, *Hérodiade*.

Before Massenet had time to get too depressed over the perfidy of operatic managements, the director of the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels offered to produce *Hérodiade*. This account of the Salome story is much less sensational than the Oscar Wilde/Richard Strauss version of a quarter of a century later, but it was evidently to the taste of the solid citizens of Brussels, and the first night, in December 1881, was a tumultuous success. Many people travelled specially from Paris, and Massenet, who had commuted between the two capitals while supervising the rehearsals, sent complimentary tickets to the Belgian customs officers at the frontier. Meanwhile, he was already hard at work on another opera.

Earlier that year he received a libretto, *Phoebé*, from Henri Meilhac, joint author of *Carmen* and of innumerable other stage pieces. Massenet found no inspiration in *Phoebé*, and returning the manuscript personally to temper his refusal, he suddenly noticed the title of a book on Meilhac's library shelves. '*Manon*!' he exclaimed, pointing at the book. '*Manon Lescaut*, do you mean?' asked Meilhac. 'No, no, just *Manon*! *Manon*!' cried the excited composer. He and Meilhac planned the libretto together as they walked in the forest of Saint-Germain. Massenet worked on the score in Brussels doing the rehearsals of *Hérodiade* and, later, in a room at The Hague where the Abbé Prévost himself had once lived, and which still contained his enormous, gondola-shaped bed.

The opera finished, a search began for the ideal interpreter of the title role. One evening Massenet went to the Théâtre des Nouveautés to hear a singer whom he thought might be suitable; she was, but the director of the theatre refused to release her. As he was leaving, Massenet noticed a ravishing grey hat, covered in pink roses. Under the hat was Marie Heilbronn, who had sung in his first little opera. He played and sang her the entire score of *Manon* that same night. As he finished, long after dawn the next morning, she burst into tears, sobbing, *'C'est ma vie . . . mais c'est ma vie, cela!'* Massenet had found his Manon. The triumphant première took place at the Opéra-Comique on January 19th, 1884; the following year, after singing Manon over 80 times, Marie Heilbronn died. Massenet wrote: 'If only we could tell such artists how faithful we are to their memory, what affection we have for them, what great sorrow the eternal separation from them brings us.'

This fidelity towards the singers who brought his characters to life was one of Massenet's most enduring, and endearing, traits. The whole subject

of the bond between creator and interpreter is a fascinating one. Contemporary gossip frequently hints at an affair between the opera composer and his prima donna, but the relationship is often more subtle than a purely physical one. A tendresse of some sort certainly linked Mozart and his first Susanna, Nancy Storace, while Galli-Marié, whose private life was in perpetual turmoil, reserved for Bizet a special feeling that survived long after the composer's death. Massenet seemed to need an emotional involvement with his artists. Many of his operas were inspired by his regard for a certain singer, which could range from friendship or professional admiration to complete obsession. Extremely susceptible to beautiful women, Massenet wrote as marvellously for the female voice as did his junior, Richard Strauss; but unlike Strauss, he also appreciated that oft-slandered freak of nature, the tenor.

One of the most psychologically convincing moments in *Manon*, the exclamation by Des Grieux of *'Toi, Vous!'* as he catches sight of Manon at Saint-Sulpice, was suggested by Talazac, the first Des Grieux. Jean de Reszke owed his career almost entirely to Massenet. Jean's sister Joséphine had created the role of Sita in *Le Roi de Lahore*; his brother Edouard had sung in the production at La Scala. Thirteen days after the première of *Manon*, *Hérodiade* was given for the first time in Paris, at the Théâtre-Italien, in Italian translation. Jean de Reszke, who had virtually stopped singing after his voice changed from baritone to tenor, was persuaded to take the part of John the Baptist. Edouard sang the astrologer, Phanuel, while at the twentieth performance the role of Salome was taken over by Joséphine—the only time that the three De Reszkes appeared together in the same opera. After the Polish tenor's great personal success in *Hérodiade*, Massenet provided him with a superbly tailor-made role in *Le Cid*, which was produced at the Opéra in 1885.

It was the Belgian tenor Ernest Van Dyke who suggested to Massenet that *Werther*, completed some years previously, but refused by the Opéra-Comique, should have its first performance in Vienna, with Van Dyke himself as Werther. Massenet arrived in the Austrian capital to supervise the production early in January 1892. At the first rehearsal, he told an interviewer:

> The artists were sitting waiting, in a charming and imposing group. At my entrance, all rose and bowed. The director came forward with a few well-chosen, but too complimentary words of welcome. I was much moved. Aside from my two well-known interpreters, Mlle Renard and Van Dyck [who had triumphed together in *Manon*] I knew no one. . . . I sat down at the piano and was about to strike the first chords . . . at this moment I was seized by a great emotion. My heart beat as if it would burst. . . . With an intensity that was really painful, I felt my artistic responsibility. . . . That *Werther* score was already six years old . . . I hardly remembered it. All these thoughts at once came to my mind, tears filled my eyes, and there I sat stupidly and began to cry like a woman. What kind attentions, what exquisite delicacy was shown me! 'Courage! Courage!' came from every side. I made a tremendous effort to command myself, and, still trembling with emotion, I played my entire score.

That interview appeared in the *Echo de Paris* on 16th January 1893, the day of the first Paris performance of *Werther* at the Opéra-Comique, which

had changed its tune after the Viennese première eleven months previously. The writer, Robert Charvay, ends:

> as my eminent interlocutor finished his story, a knock came at the door of his study. 'Here', said a voice, 'are the final proofs of your new score'. On the cover I read the title: *Thaïs*, lyric drama in 3 acts. . . . 'Ah, yes!' said the master with a smile, 'this is life. . . . Today *Werther*, tomorrow *Thaïs*'.

Thaïs brings on the scene Sybil Sanderson, the young and beautiful American soprano who, of all his interpreters, struck deepest into Massenet's impressionable heart. He was introduced to her one evening in 1887 after dinner at a friend's house. She sang for him and, too shy to perform his own music, chose instead the Queen of the Night's Vengeance aria from *The Magic Flute*. 'What a marvellous voice', wrote Massenet in *Mes Souvenirs*. 'It ranged from low G to G above top C, three octaves in full voice or pianissimo. I was amazed, stupefied, subjugated!' When, next day, he was offered a libretto to set in preparation for the Universal Exhibition of 1889, he realised he had the perfect vehicle for Sanderson—*Esclarmonde*. He spent the next two summers at the Grand Hotel, Vevey, on the shore of the Lake of Geneva. Sybil Sanderson, heavily chaperoned by her mother and her three sisters, also stayed at the Grand Hotel, and every evening between five and seven o'clock Massenet played over the scene he had composed during the day to his future Esclarmonde.

The opera was ready in good time for the Exhibition, and received its first performance at the Opéra-Comique on 15th May, 1889. Massenet personally supervised every detail of the production himself. In order to gain some stage experience, Sanderson had sung *Manon* at The Hague, under an assumed name. *Esclarmonde* was rapturously acclaimed by public and press alike, though some protests were raised over the growing influence of Wagner discerned in the score. Camille Bellaigue defined the opera as 'at the same time a small French *Tristan* and a small French *Parsifal*.' Sanderson had her triumph too, and the composer was more than ever under her spell; when Louis Gallet suggested to him an opera based on Anatole France's novel *Thaïs*, Massenet at once saw Sanderson in the role of the fascinating Alexandrian courtesan. But although the composition of *Thaïs* was obviously a labour of love for Massenet, the première, at the Opéra in March 1894, was not as successful as that of *Esclarmonde*, despite the fact that an accident to her costume left the beautiful Sybil naked to the waist at one moment.

Massenet already had one opera completed, and two more nearly finished. The month of June found him installed at the Cavendish Hotel in Jermyn Street, preparing the production of *La Navarraise* at Covent Garden. A conscious attempt at verismo opera, partly modelled on *Cavalleria rusticana*, *La Navarraise* was the first of two works created round the striking personality of Emma Calvé. After the first performance, on June 20th, there was a riot, with the audience applauding, stamping and shouting for the composer, who was not in the house. When Sir Augustus Harris came before the curtain to say 'M. Massenet is outside smoking a cigarette', the tumult increased. While Calvé sang the title role, as she did in Paris and New York as well as in London, the opera continued to have this effect; without her, it made little impression.

The second piece that Massenet wrote for Calvé was *Sapho*, based on Alphonse Daudet's novel about Fanny Legrand, the artist's model who was nicknamed Sapho after posing for a sculpture of the Greek poetess. The opera, produced at the Opéra-Comique in 1897, shocked many people, as did Calvé's realistic acting, which was said to range from 'the most lascivious languor to the coarsest fury.' Mary Garden, who sang Sapho in New York, was accused of 'turning upon her artist friends with the shrill violence of a Billingsgate fishwife.' Garden, though she only sang in one Massenet première (*Chérubin*, at Monte Carlo in 1905), was perhaps the greatest and most influential of all his contemporary interpreters. During four seasons with the Manhattan Opera, from 1906 to 1910, she appeared in *Thaïs*, *Sapho*, *Grisélidis* and *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*.

Her Thaïs was legendary:

> Every motion of her sinuous body was visible through the thin, rose-coloured drapery, which clung to limbs and torso with studied persistency. When she took breath the action of her diaphragm swayed her yielding form in wave-like undulations. At moments it seemed as if this creature of supple frame, slender as a sapling, pliant as a willow, wore only the garb of Eve as she moved along the boards with the stride of a tigress and the tortuousness of a serpent.

In *Grisélidis* (first produced at the Opéra-Comique in 1901, with Lucienne Bréval in the title role), Garden,

> as a matter of course, was the centre of attraction. It seems hardly credible that the same woman who acted Sapho with such coarse abandon should be, in mien and every gesture, the demure, obedient, chaste, domestic, adoring wife and mother of this play.

Garden's assumption of the tenor role of Jean in *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame* annoyed Massenet considerably, though she had made an irresistible youth in *Chérubin*, the further adventures of Beaumarchais' amorous page. *Le Jongleur* was composed while Massenet was convalescing in the country after a severe illness. No Parisian theatre would touch a work without any female role other than a silent apparition of the Virgin Mary, and it was left to Raoul Gunsbourg, director of the Monte Carlo Opera, to produce the Miracle in 3 acts, thus beginning a mutually satisfactory association that resulted in seven Massenet operas receiving their first performances at Monte Carlo. 'She certainly made a fascinating boy', wrote Reginald de Koven of Garden's Juggler, 'graceful, artless and wholly natural and unaffected, while her action was characterised by a sweetness and sympathy with underlying touches of sly humor which gave charm and constant variety to her impersonation.'

The final chapters of *Mes Souvenirs* contain many vivid impressions of Lucy Arbell, the contralto who created roles in several of Massenet's later operas: as Persephone in *Ariane* (produced at the Opéra in 1906), crushing an armful of roses against her heart as if she were greeting a husband or lover she had not seen for 20 years; as the heroine of *Thérèse*, a Revolutionary music drama given at Monte Carlo in 1907, speaking her final line of *'Vive le Roi!'* because her emotion at that point prevented her from singing; as a lovely, audacious Dulcinea in *Don Quichotte* (Monte Carlo again, in 1910), accompanying herself on the guitar; as the blind grandmother, Posthumia, in *Roma*, hiding her youth and beauty under layers of make-up,

as Sarah Bernhardt had done in the same role at the Comédie-Française, 35 years previously. *Roma,* Massenet's twenty-second opera, was the last to be produced in the composer's lifetime (three more were given posthumously). After the première at Monte Carlo in February 1912, it was performed at the Opéra in April. On August 13th, Massenet died.

Lucy Arbell, contributing to *Mes Souvenirs,* wrote:

> Rehearsals with the master do not always begin agreeably. . . . He insists, from the first contact of the artist with a new role, on perfection. . . . But when he feels that he is understood, what a change comes over him—he is happy, grateful; he speaks with indulgence and overwhelms one with praise. . . . He so loves his artists that he gives them a place of honour among the most cherished of his family. How we artists also love, admire and revere him!

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William Kean Seymour

We deeply regret the death, on January 21st, of Dr. William Kean Seymour, aged 87, the well-known Georgian poet and literary critic. With his deep and versatile knowledge of English literature and wide literary circle, he had been many years a distinguished contributor, particularly as reviewer, to the *Contemporary Review.*

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

by Rosalind Wade

The Memoirs of a Survivor. Doris Lessing. Octagon Press. £2.95. *Surprise.* Brian Burland. George Allen & Unwin. £2.95. *Portrait of Helena.* Carlo Cassola (translated by Sebastian Roberts). Chatto and Windus. £3.00. *Wolf Solent.* John Cowper Powys. Macdonald and Jane's. £3.95. *The Case Worker.* George Konrad (translated by Paul Aston). Hutchinson. £2.75. *The Romanov Succession.* Brian Garfield. Macmillan. £3.25. *The Darkness of the Morning.* Gordon Parker. Backman & Turner. £3.75.

It sometimes happens that, while acknowledging an impressive display of talent, the reader is left wishing that a particular novelist had selected a more challenging or compulsive theme. E. M. Forster's famous dicta about the importance of the narrative art are by no means so inappropriate that they can be discarded out of hand. The most brilliantly experimental performance soon becomes heavy-footed if there is no real substance to the plot or respect for the importance of sustained tension.

A case in point is *The Memoirs of a Survivor.* Doris Lessing is justly acclaimed as one of the leading novelists of our time. Earlier novels, such as *The Grass is Singing* and *The Summer Before the Dark,* were both memorable for a searing insight into emotional states of mind as well as being first-class examples of ultra-modern fiction in their own right. Thus it is disappointing to find her falling for the prevalent fashion of speculating about life in the not so distant future, although this could have been rewarding if she had provided an original slant on the Brave New World. Alas, her predictions are in line with almost every other science fiction fantasy about the kind of existence we may one day be obliged to endure: a universal deterioration of moral standards and public hygiene, with scrounging nomads roaming the streets. We have heard it all so often before and the only wonder is why a projection into the next century is always portrayed as regression rather than progress.

As would be expected from Doris Lessing, the effects of the squalor and deprivation are immediately related to an unusual group of human beings, among others a precocious adolescent girl named Emily and an older woman who adopts her. Tentative efforts to break down the girl's hostility are impeded by the presence of Emily's 'familiar', a huge 'cat-dog' named Hugo, a creature straight out of *Grimm's Fairy Tales,* who worships Emily and accepts any indignity in order to remain by her side. Predictably, Emily soon eludes both Hugo and her foster-mother and joins in sex and horse-play with the rabble. Flashbacks to the more stable past supply some useful clues, but are often jerky and confused and do not appreciably assist either the fantasy or the realism. What compensates are Doris Lessing's evocative word pictures of an unchanged country landscape beyond the littered streets and spasmodic, penetrating comments about Emily and her guardian, but these commutations are few and far between.

The same general misgiving persists in regard to Brian Burland's new novel. Mr. Burland is a young Bermudan writer, author of several highly praised novels, mostly set in his native island. 'Surprise' is the name fortuitously given

at birth to a Bermudan negro, an 'uppity' nigger, as the white men call him. Although slavery was technically a thing of the past in nineteenth century Bermuda, Surprise found himself still virtually in bondage. Thus, to provide some kind of motivation, he conceives the ambition of building and equipping a seaworthy craft and so becomes, as he claims, the first coloured man to escape from the white man's paradise, bound for the idyllic islet of Barbuda, where he plans to found a republic. Inevitably, the hazardous enterprise soon meets with disaster; a violent storm all but wrecks the boat and a unit of the British Navy, presenting a distasteful image when viewed through the eyes of a hunted negro, exacts a heavy toll. Despite some initial success, one of which is the sinking of a British ship with all hands lost, the superior forces of law and order soon overtake the rebels and inflict horrible punishment on them after an encounter which was, to the Naval personnel involved, little more than a routine skirmish. As Vice-Admiral Streatham on board H.M.S. Achilles wrote home to his wife:

> . . . down here off Barbuda to put down a rebellion of blacks who claim they are a republic. Of course they are really just descendants of the slaves of the Codrington family, to whom the island still legally belongs (and to England, of course). It's a hellish place anyway . . .

Strong 'action' and descriptions of delectable scenery seem ready for transfer to the technicolor screen. But, for the most part, extensive dialogues, phonetically recorded, are heavy going and leave the overall impression that this novel, the outcome of Brian Burland's recently undertaken researches into American and Caribbean naval history, has rather sent him off course.

It is usually a pleasure to read an Italian novel. From Moravia and Giovene, to mention only two, have come some of the finest examples of modern fiction. Carlo Cassola is in the same tradition, having published a number of successful novels and volumes of short stories. The present work, with the title *Monte Mario,* has sold in huge quantities in Italy and is being filmed. Carlo Cassola's speciality is the 'unlikely' love affair and in *Portrait of Helena* the emotional situation between Helena, an aggressive, self-confident virgin, and Mario, a captain in the *carabinieri,* is decidedly 'off-beat'. Helena has consistently refused either to marry Mario or be his mistress, yet this does not prevent her from installing herself in his bachelor flat after a quarrel with her stepmother and creating a succession of major and minor disruptions in the domestic routine. Helena is so tiresome and immature that Mario's willingness to accommodate her in his masculine stronghold is incomprehensible. Permutations on this situation comprise the general scheme of the novel, varied by consultations with Helena's father, who emerges as one of the most convincing characters. Whether the debate as to whether Helena and Mario shall marry or become lovers is of sufficient interest to sustain a full-length novel cannot fairly be judged by the English reader. At a time when the art of translation has reached so high a level as to be taken for granted, this one is regrettably reminiscent of 'student' English, as for instance when Mario says accusingly to Helena . . . 'even a trifle can make you sick . . . '

From these three disappointments it is reassuring to move out into the bracing climate of an author who knows unerringly what he is about. Reading a reissue of the mammoth *Wolf Solent,* possibly the finest novel to come from the talented Anglo-Welsh Powys family, the reader cannot fail to be impressed by John Cowper Powys' ability to use a *minutiae* of detail without ever becoming tedious. The outline plot is simple enough. Wolf Solent arrives in a typical Dorset parish, with which his family have long had connections, to become

'secretary' to an amateur historian. It is unlikely that his employer has any serious intention of completing his researches and as Wolf manoeuvres his way around the little community he has ample time to probe parental mysteries, and get himself romantically involved. He marries and soon regrets his choice: his mother joins him and persecutes the eccentric semi-cripple who once enjoyed an amorous relationship with Solent *père,* while as a backcloth to these personal dramas the life of the little township continues placidly enough.

Although written in 1929, while John Cowper Powys was lecturing in the United States and far removed from the English rural scene, the book breathes the atmosphere of unspoiled Dorset. The interiors of unmodernised houses, the unspectacular beauty of the countryside around Sherborne, inevitably provoke comparison with the Hardy terrain. There is little resemblance. Whereas Thomas Hardy's stories of simple people at odds with Nature are dominated by his own catastrophic views about the Universe and Fate, John Cowper Powys plays the narrator as an easier, more objective role. True, many of his characters have a grotesque twist and appear larger than life, yet they are readily definable as part and parcel of the overall plan—a stimulating, good-humoured debate on the strains, jealousies and strivings of the average human ego. John Cowper Powys shows a profound understanding of the motley group who have their being in this unobtrusive territory, yet there is far more to *Wolf Solent* than mere bucolic junketings. His deeper intent is to probe and analyse the mystical forces animating, yet not understood by, the men, women and children involved.

If an unvarnished acceptance of people as they really are is a paramount requirement for the novelist, the young Hungarian welfare worker, George Konrad, sets out with an enormous advantage. Clearly, his work as a child welfare organiser in Budapest has equipped him with a fund of valuable information. He has written extensively about his work, but the *Case Worker* is a first attempt to channel his experience into fiction form. The result is a graphic if disconnected report on the average social worker's busy day. As George Konrad himself points out, the administrator of a clinic can continue for years with a single dialogue on his side—asking routine questions, noting down particulars and doling out state benefits—while with their replies a procession of adults and juniors ensure variety. Inevitably, his view of the human predicament cannot be a reassuring one ' . . . suicides have been giving me a lot of work lately . . . '

> Not so long ago Mrs. K. started the parade. Her husband had been beating her for years. 'We'll hale your husband in court', I told her, but she asked me not to. Taking a couple of apples and a camp stool, she strode out to Hüvösvölgy on the street car. . . . Next day, her footprints, like the bullet holes on the whitewashed wall of a peasant cottage, guided the patrolman's eyes to the hill-top. She had eaten her apples, tied a clothesline to an oak that had withered into the shape of a gnarled hand and kicked away the stool. When they found her, the clothesline had stretched under her weight so that Mrs. K. was actually standing. Her false teeth protruded from between her lips and there was congealed blood on her face where she had clawed herself. . . . In her pockets were photographs. I kept them for the children . . .

What emerges, apart from the general compulsion of reading about this grim cavalcade of unfortunates, is a more pressured existence than ours in the West, lightened in most instances only by the practical sympathy of a conscientious 'case worker'.

There is nothing depressing or low-toned about Brian Garfield's new novel.

In *The Romanov Succession* he pursues the same kind of technique as in the successful *Kolchak's Gold* and, in general terms, a continuation of the theme: in this case, the attempt in 1941 by a group of Russian *emigrés* to replace Stalin as ruler of Russia with a representative of the Czars. There are as many candidates as ramifications. Some who might effectively 'rule' Russia are disqualified for being unpopular with the Revolutionaries; others, and a direct descendant of the Czar in particular, too weak or pleasure loving. The naturalised American, Alix Danilav, released from army duty to direct the enterprise, is not assisted in this onerous task by his passion for the chief protagonist's daughter. Brian Garfield's approach to a situation which might, had it been authentic, have altered the course of history, is brisk and practical. If it lacks the conviction and novelty of *Kolchak's Gold* it emerges as an excellent example of the blend of factual and speculative history.

Finally, a first novel which should win for the author considerable acclaim. *The Darkness of the Morning*, with a foreword by Sir Derek Ezra, is a moving tribute in fiction form to the miners and their families who suffered persecution and hardship in the Durham coal mines before the year 1862, when long-overdue safety measures were passed by Parliament. The arrogance and indifference displayed by the owners of primitively sunk shafts would seem incredible if not fully documented. But the novel is essentially one of personalities; the loves and feuds of the tough, unforgiving community is what matters most and, crude and often bestial as these may seem to present-day readers, they are the attitudes born of the harsh environment and, as such, deserve to be placed on permanent record.

Also Received:

Witch. Barbara Michaels. Souvenir Press. £2.80. After the charm and excitement of *Greygallows* and *The Crying Child, Witch* tends to fall between two possibilities—a study of the haunting of an outwardly beautiful country house and the explanation of many of the phenomena as ordinary criminal activities. The result is that the psychic phenomena become overlaid and exposure of the criminal is too long-drawn.

St. Lawrence Blues. Marie-Claire Blais (translated by Ralph Manheim). Harrap. £3.50. Marie-Claire Blais has already written several successful novels with a French-Canadian setting. The central character, Ti-Pit or, to translate, 'Little Nobody', ekes out an existence in the seamy quarters of Quebec, living with a varied assembly of deprived, low-life characters. Death and disaster are the rewards of their disregarded protests about the condition of the underprivileged in a rapidly changing society. Excellently translated by Ralph Manheim, the power of Marie-Claire Blais' approach is readily communicated.

Back to the Top of the World. Hans Reusch. New English Library. £2.50. It is twenty years since Hans Reusch wrote his first novel about the world of the Eskimo, *Top of the World*. Now he returns to this setting and once again, as Thomas Mann wrote of the earlier work, 'Hans Reusch provides an entirely new and extremely significant account of how this intrepid race come to terms with a way of life unfamiliar to most readers.'

Embarkation. J. R. Salamanca. Cassell. £2.75. Already successful in the United States, this warmly and more than competently written story of a family whose lives are dedicated to the building of boats and of boating, takes the form of a vindication of their 'Poppa', who was drowned while piloting one of his most 'beautiful' craft.

NON-FICTION

THE LOST LEADER

Oswald Mosley. Robert Skidelsky. Macmillan. £6.95.

Some of us are familiar with this author's *Politicians and the Slump*—perhaps the most penetrating study of the 1931 crisis—and it is no surprise that he has now written this full-size portrait of Mosley and is engaged on a biography of Maynard Keynes. Almost alone he has taken upon himself the interpretation of the economic and political events which preceded and followed the formation of the National Government in 1931.

Mosley deserves an objective biography, partly because he spanned these immediate years as a young and rising politician, but partly also because over a period of 50 years his opposition to the British party system and our methods of government has significant lessons for 1975 and the future. Mosley's recent autobiography *My Life* was preceded by scores of books and writings, from which I select *Revolution by Reason* (1925), *Tomorrow We Live* (1938), *The Alternative* (1947), and *The European Situation, The Third Force* (1950). In these books Mosley analyses a deep-seated malaise in the body politic and Robert Skidelsky's scholarly if slanted biography covers the malaise as well as the man—hence its wider importance.

My first contact with Mosley was via the constituency of Harrow, which Mosley fought three times. At the age of 22 he was elected a *Conservative* in the Lloyd George coupon election of 1918; he was re-elected as an *Independent Conservative* in 1922; again he was re-elected as an *Independent* in 1923 and joined the Labour Party. I fought Harrow as a Labour candidate in 1924, conscious that it was a hopeless and muddied seat. Mosley deserted Harrow to storm the Chamberlain stronghold of Birmingham. But look what happened. He very nearly defeated Neville Chamberlain (after a recount) in 1924; he won Smethwick at a by-election in 1927 for Labour. In 1929 he held Smethwick, his wife won Stoke-on-Trent, while six seats were won by Mosley's Labour following in Birmingham, including John Strachey. Both Austen Chamberlain and Leo Amery narrowly escaped defeat. And yet by 1931 Mosley and his following were an irrelevance; the despised Macdonald and Baldwin were back with an unprecedented margin to form the National Government. But how nearly were the Chamberlains wiped out, such are politics! The proud and confident Mosley never won another election. Year by year he shed his friends, first Robert Cecil and then many others, including Strachey, Harold Nicolson and Allan Young who became Harold Macmillan's Secretary in 1932.

How well I remember Mosley's courtship of Ramsay Macdonald, his identification with Maxton and Wheatley of the I.L.P., his sensational speeches which were praised on all sides. We all loved his wife Cynthia because we felt she was at least sincere. But Mosley had no base; he flirted with extremes of Left and Right, was never trusted by the Morrisons and Daltons and was loathed by Conservatives. He nearly broke the ranks of the official party groupings. In my opinion Skidelsky overrates his intelligence and expected too much from this strange interloper into British politics. Why, then, did Mosley fail?

It is, of course, true that the Labour Party paid as little attention to Maynard Keynes as did Winston Churchill; it is true that Mosley demanded reforms far in advance of the current pedestrian political conceptions. But he failed to

carry any politicians with him. In spite of denials by himself and much special pleading by his biographer, Mosley allowed himself and undoubtedly his henchmen to embrace anti-semitism and the crude use of force. It was more than a mistake to use the black-shirt uniform and provoke the Public Order Act of 1936. Mosley's New Party and British Fascists supplied no rational answer to the growth of Communism; witness the current infiltration and spread of violence. 'If any single factor killed off British fascism, it was the war', writes Skidelsky, but British Communism is by no means dead.

Mosley was a brilliant if studied orator. Few if any other politicians could hold spellbound an audience of 20,000. Even between 1933 and 1937 he made 200 speeches a year. He was industrious and read everything that might strengthen and clarify his case. It was only during his imprisonment that he read more widely and deeply and developed a sort of philosophy, but it was too late. Oddly enough the greatest single influence on Mosley was Bernard Shaw. Robert Skidelsky makes an effort to study the anatomy of British Fascism; it remains for another historian to continue this analysis. Mosley conceived himself as the spokesman of the post-war generation; he dismissed Anthony Eden as the 'tailor's dummy stuffed with straw'. In half-a-dozen chapters, Skidelsky makes an apologia for his hero on domestic, economic and foreign policy, but Mosley's policy of National Socialism was a hotch-potch of half-baked ideas based on import controls, withdrawal from all foreign entanglements, nationalisation of banks and an end to usurious capitalism, spiced with centralised leadership and discrimination against minority groups. The author's attempt to establish a rational philosophy of *Mosleyism* seems to me the weakest part of what is otherwise a fascinating study.

KENNETH LINDSAY

LA SERENISSIMA

The Rise and Fall of Venice. Philip Longworth. Constable. £3.95.

Venice has long had a particular fascination for the English. What started, as early as the fourteenth century, as a trading connection had, by the days of Consul Smith at any rate, become an established relationship. More than any other Italian city, even Florence or Rome itself, Venice was the mecca for northern tourists so that no grand tour was complete without it and few English travellers failed to bring back their *vedutisti,* views by Canaletto or lesser hands, as a memorial of their visit. It is not hard to see why it particularly caught our collective imagination. An island which dominated much of the surrounding *terra firma,* an Adriatic port which controlled wide areas of the Mediterranean, a religious centre which continued at regular odds with the papacy and a republic which maintained its constitution long after other city states had become minor duchies or ports of foreign kingdoms, it remained part of Italy but separate. It developed a polyglot but highly sophisticated civilisation of its own, within the general framework of Italian politics and culture. It was a city of many contradictions but abiding achievement in the arts. No wonder the English travellers came so eagerly, as they still do, to seek its wonders.

Mr. Longworth's book is an account of the continuous growth and decline (it was a city which seemed hardly to have been established before it was foredoomed to decadence and an eventual watery grave) of this most extraordinary of cities, the story behind the facade at which the visitors gaze. It is, as might be expected from his three previous volumes on Russian history, carefully researched (there is an excellent bibliography), well written and interestingly narrated. It is also curiously uneven. There is a good account of the

founding of the community, of the successive struggles against Genoese, Ottoman Turks, Portuguese and others for mercantile supremacy and a clear and evocative description of the development of the city itself over the years as a living entity up to the end of the sixteenth century. Here, curiously, Mr. Longworth seems to lose interest. His account of eighteenth century Venice, in many ways, one of the Republic's most interesting and productive periods, is sketchy and generally dismissive and its tone can be taken from the irritating chapter heading 'Luxurious Decline'. The subsequent periods of Austrian rule, the *Risorgimento* and later events qualify for a little more than ten pages. Fortunately there are already available a number of good source books in English on the more recent periods of Venetian history, but it is irritating in what purports to be a general account to find no reference to authoritative studies on important subjects like Mr. Michael Levey's book on eighteenth century Venetian art or Mr. Simon Towneley Wosthorne's work on Venetian opera.

On the arts in Venice generally he has little which is particularly new to say, but this may be because of the slightly puritan tone which he adopts towards the more lavish and generally artistically productive aspects of Venetian life. On the artistic achievements of the Venetian Empire, even in Crete or Cyprus, there is little mention, though the cross-currents here, particularly between Venetian and Byzantine painting, are an important field. This summary kind of approach to artistic topics is well demonstrated, for example, by the author's dismissal of Carlo Gozzi (a figure who is now being given increasing emphasis in the history of Italian theatre and of the theatre generally) as merely a rival of Goldoni's who wrote 'as a means of maintaining a decrepit faimly house in Venice and a no less decrepit family villa in the country.' If this is all that interests Mr. Longworth about Gozzi, why bother to mention him at all; if he is going to be mentioned, then why not tell us something about the highly unusual nature of his work?

For the reader who is seeking a good background guide to Venice, perhaps before a first visit, this is therefore a useful book, but not one to read on its own. It should be read in conjunction, perhaps, with Jan Morris's marvellous study of the living city. What it does give is an extremely clear, if sometimes one-sided, account of the development of economic and political history and social life and manners in Venice over a period which, after all, covers more than a thousand years.

ERNLE MONEY

KEEPING APART

Arnold Bennett: a study of his fiction. John Lucas. Methuen. £4.60 (hardback), £2.30 (paperback).

Dr. Lucas shows how the real strength of Bennett's best work depends on the extraordinary fidelity with which he portrays provincial lives, so that through the totality of a novel we realise how deeply we have come to know and understand the given community. He will not allow Virginia Woolf's complaint that Bennett 'is trying to make us imagine for him; he is trying to hypnotise us into the belief that, because he has made a house, there must be a person living there.' Neither can he accept Dr. Leavis's judgment that Bennett is unable to render provincial life as well as D. H. Lawrence, nor Lawrence's own tag of Bennett as 'an old imitator.'

He demonstrates how Bennett's pessimism and realism have their roots in the Nineties, in which he began his career—not in the Edwardian era. However,

Bennett turns away from the struggle of man against man; Dr. Lucas argues that he has no real political awareness, although he sees and records only too well the way in which his characters have to struggle to survive. In Gissing's phrase, Bennett greatly desires to 'keep apart.' He writes in his Journal in 1908, 'I could have become obsessed by the essential wrongness of everything, had I determined not to be so.' Eventually he ceases to write about the Five Towns, because he knows, probably largely at an unconscious level, that he can continue to study Five Towns life realistically only if he is prepared *not* to keep apart.

In 1915, Bennett went to France and, in the words of Frank Swinnerton, 'visited the front as a duty, and was horrified at what he saw.' Some adumbrations of chaos filter into *The Pretty Lady* (1918) where 'He uses disturbing and even horrific images and incidents to suggest a possible breakdown, an ultimate dislocation of civilisation and order.' Finally, Bennett discovers that he *cannot* keep apart; after 'entertainment' novels he returns triumphantly to the secure, realistic ground of *Riceyman's Steps* (1923) where 'the area round King's Cross Road, with its frowsty shops, tenement buildings and dingy pubs . . . is as palpably there as the Bursley of earlier work.' He consciously employs a degree of symbolism. Perhaps his later work has a wryness and a resonance like that of Shakespeare's last plays. 'In all the novels of this last period he uses a new manner to create reverberations and implications that give the individual lives . . . an added dimension, a larger significance.' He is *not* a satirist, since his stance of wry, stoical acceptance goes quite against any satiric bitterness of feeling for how things *might* be.

Dr. Lucas believes that Bennett is 'not really interested in the dramas of inner consciousness'; perhaps he is right, or perhaps it is a matter of closer definition of 'inner consciousness', but it may be instead that Bennett was hampered by a characteristic difficulty in *expressing* such dramas, as when a character 'intensely lives.' Moreover, Dr. Lucas constantly and very well shows us the extent of Bennett's psychological acumen in relation to character and motivation, which he offers to us as an essential and exact 'rightness.' When he regretfully indicates the empty epithets such as sublime, mystical, tragic, terrible, which reveal a straying or absence of thought or feeling, Dr. Lucas is quietly devastating. As an example, he takes the passage, 'By the corner of her eye, reflected in the mirror of a wardrobe near the bed, she glimpsed a tall, forlorn woman, who had once been young and now was old . . . ' (which is exactly *right*) followed by, 'The riddle of life itself was killing her, and she seemed to drown in a sea of inexpressible sorrow.' Dr. Lucas objects that you cannot tell when Bennett imagines that he is transcribing Sophia's thoughts, and when he is interpolating his own. Anyway, she is simply too tough to be drowning in this way. 'And why "seems"? Doesn't he know? Is it that she seems to herself or to him to be drowning?' And, he does not bother to add, what does 'inexpressible' contribute?

While dealing lightly enough with Bennett's mere commercial novels, and giving due weight and value to any of Bennett's own protestations as to their merit, Dr. Lucas does not spare his moral indignation about Mr. Prohack (1922), where 'there is something deeply offensive about its smugness, its chortling complacency over the facts of money and material success . . . one has the truly weird sensation that the war never actually happened and that England is still a garden of "correctness and tradition", where the sunlight will never harden and grow cold.' Yet pointing out what is bad in Bennett is only one facet of Dr. Lucas's level, reasoned analysis, lucid and truly appreciative.

MOLLY TIBBS

THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND

Vico: A Study of the 'New Science' by Leon Pompa. Cambridge University Press. £4.90.

In his study of the *New Science* of Giambattista Vico, the Italian philosopher who lived from 1688 to 1744, Dr. Leon Pompa has done a considerable service to professional philosophers and to those readers who delight in the history of ideas in general. More particularly, a reader of his scholarly book cannot fail to be disabused of any impression he may have that some currently fashionable theories about the inter-dependence of historical, philosophical and sociological knowledge are peculiar to the social scientists of the twentieth century. Vico has been increasingly regarded in recent years as the exponent of certain influential views on the philosophy of history and as an original thinker in the field of scientific sociology. A cornerstone of Vico's argument for an integrated 'science' of man and his social institutions is that, in any reconstruction of the histories of different peoples, 'natural laws' must of necessity be in operation and can be deduced. The consequence of their discovery would be an 'ideal eternal history' which could be the key to an understanding not only of the particular course which a nation's development had followed but also of the general pattern of its future. Such a history is predictive and therefore attains the status of a science.

Adhering closely to the text of *La Scienza Nuova,* the author has provided valuable insights into such important matters as Vico's increasing dissatisfaction with explanations that depend on Descartes' theory of knowledge and its 'clear and distinct ideas' from which an understanding of human nature might be deduced; into his apparent flight from *a priori* to empirical methods of reasoning and his commendation of Francis Bacon's 'inductive' thinking—'still followed', says Vico, 'by the English with great profit in experimental philosophy'—and into the admission that Vico was nonetheless engaged in a quest for a common denominator (in itself a theoretical procedure) between social institutions which, properly applied, would make it possible to predict the course history would follow. Such a conceptual framework presents an apparent contradiction in terms to the nature of the historical case. But, the argument runs, a knowledge of underlying historical and sociological laws would reveal a sequential pattern of behaviour in which similar judgements about the conduct of government would be arrived at by different peoples independently, and even in ignorance of one another's very existence. Vico's new 'critical art' would 'enable the philosopher to discover these laws, or causes, in the form of an ideal history traversed in time by all nations'. It is 'ideal' not in the Platonic or the Hegelian senses alone but because the total preordained pattern originates in divine providence, a notion built in by Vico as first cause.

No present-day reader can be unaware of the resemblance here to philosophies like those of Marx, of Toynbee or of John Dewey, all of which have as their basis some overall cyclic or inevitable pattern to be discerned in social life. Dr. Pompa makes appropriate reference to these and other contemporary issues in a precisely argued appraisal of Vico's theories themselves as well as of the logical and factual difficulties inherent in accepting them.

BETTY ABEL

KNOW THYSELF

Shrines of Psychic Power. Florence E. Pettit. Thorsons Publishers Ltd. £3.50.

Mrs. Pettit has written a remarkable book. It is, as she admits, a highly personal account of an intellectual pilgrimage, an adventure between two worlds. It is the story of a quest for a kind of Holy Grail—the insubstantial

vessel which, hidden away beneath the many layers of falseness which modern life imposes, contains the essential truth about oneself. And that truth, she believes, lies waiting to be discovered within each of us. It is the *process* of discovery that presents the difficulty, for it is so frighteningly easy to be misled. Snares and deceptions abound, both within and without. There is no shortage of self-styled 'guides', but so many of them, she warns, turn out to be false prophets, more concerned with making profits for themselves. Basically, her message is that there is no single swift and certain route to self-discovery: no neatly signposted path through the wood. Revelation comes slowly. It demands patience from those who seek it. Meditation, unhurried communion with nature, the quiet savouring of solitary places, the conscious exposure of oneself to the influence of the spiritually strengthening atmosphere generated in such shrines of psychic power as the historically sacred sites of Glastonbury and the Holy Island of Iona.

Neither the intellect nor the aesthetic sense alone is sufficient. Mrs. Pettit feels that she has been particularly fortunate in the possession from her earliest years of a psychic faculty. It has proved of incalculable value to her, although some of its manifestations which she here describes have been of a distinctly alarming character.

She is, however, far too modest a person to make any extravagant claims for the sovereignty of this or that method of opening the inner eye. She did it her way, but she is at pains to point out that her way may not be your or my way. In her case, the study courses in spiritual healing which she attended at the College of Psychotherapeutics and at White Lodge, at Speldhurst in Kent, played an important part in her development. So, too, did the extraordinary contact which she made with the spirit of a dead friend, Frances Banks, who continued to point the way for her from beyond the grave.

What you receive from this book must depend on what you bring to it. It may be that it will have no message for you at all. You may dismiss it sceptically as a record of self-delusion rather than a chronicle of self-discovery. But the one thing that emerges crystal-clear and incontrovertible from its pages is that its author has achieved a considerable measure of spiritual peace and satisfaction in the course of a life which has been by no means easy at times, and the lessons of that achievement are well worth reading.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

AFTER SINGAPORE'S FALL

Crowded Hour. Sjovald Cunyngham-Brown. John Murray. £4.25.

How does one feel, pent in a dark cell in a Sumatra jail, condemned to death, a prisoner of the Japs after the fall of Singapore in 1942? At Sibolga, Mr. Cunyngham-Brown, ex-administrator in Malaya, found that 'when all hope of further survival is gone, a sensation of great peace and weariness overcomes the mind . . . lying all day and night for months at a stretch in the green gloom, one unwound, as it were, the thread of one's life—starting from here and moving slowly and steadily back to one's earliest beginnings.' He relived his whole life, as a drowning man is said to do.

This had included, during a spell in India, a meeting with the aged Raja of Nemili, a Rajput aristocrat who worked as a peasant on his lands, driving his own ox plough in loincloth, bare feet, yet dressed at other times in Savile Row jodhpurs, morning-coat; and what the Raja had taught him of Hindu philosophy and its triumph of mind over matter now came to his aid and saved him.

He thought intensely all day, for many days, of a fresh red rose until he

could see it glowing in the corner of his cell in all its velvet beauty. 'I could leave it alone in its corner for hours and suddenly flash round at it to catch it unawares; and there it would still be where I left it, floating benignly in its corner and flooding the cell with light. At last . . . I found I could even smell it. The scent of roses was everywhere in my nostrils.'

One day a fellow prisoner came to his cell. 'Have you got some soap?' he asked. 'No? Then where is this scent coming from? Can't you smell it? Roses. There are no such things as roses here. I smelt it last time we met here too. How very strange!' Strange *spectre de la rose* indeed. It perfumes a tale of adventure, makes it an adventure of the spirit, too.

Daily the Jap guard who brought his handful of rice on a banana leaf would draw his finger across his throat with ghoulish pleasure and say: 'Today—*you*.' But one day, nude from the bath-house, he was hustled without warning on to a lorry loaded with other prisoners and taken to another jail at Terutong, to be shipped later, with 1,250 others, to an unknown destination—possibly Japan, to work in the carbide factories. On the voyage the convoy was attacked, the ship torpedoed. He and a comrade drifted about on floating wreckage until they were picked up by a Jap launch which landed them back in Singapore.

Here, with 3,000 other prisoners, they were sold as slave workers to the Manchurian Railway Company building a new line in Sumatra. When the war ended eighteen months later, only just over 800 survived. The author, working with a gang completing an airstrip at Pekan Baru, saw an aircraft zoom low and make a bumpy landing despite his waved warning. He had lost his loincloth rushing towards it, so was stark naked when an attractive, dark-haired woman emerged in Wren uniform, opened a gold case, and said: 'What you need is a cigarette! Now take me to your camp please, quickly.' It was Lady Louis Mountbatten on a mercy mission.

Mr. Cunyngham-Brown gives a lively account of early experiences as Malaya administrator, a vivid one of Singapore's fall and his subsequent adventures eluding the Japs by ship and sampan among perilous islands south to Lingga and Singkep. It is a chronicle of ordeal, danger, horror, endurance, courage, both soberly and graphically told in a style befitting a Consul-General of France in Panang for the past sixteen years.

TREVOR ALLEN

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Fight Another Day (Collins, £3.25). During the last war, some 3,000 airmen and several hundred soldiers evaded capture in enemy occupied territory. In this remarkable book, the author, Lt Colonel J. M. Langley, tells how this was achieved. He lost an arm at Dunkirk, was captured and later escaped and made his way back to England via Spain and Gibraltar. Once in England he was recruited into M19 under the redoubtable Colonel Claude Dansey and spent the rest of the war in the business of organising escapes. Also closely involved was Airey Neave, MP who has written the Introduction. It is the story of selfless courage and sacrifice by scores of ordinary people in the occupied territories who hid the evaders in their homes, by the guides and couriers who led them along the escape routes into Spain and by the heroic organisers who often worked alone without aid from England. Nonetheless Room 900, where the author worked, assisted enormously and essentially in the organisation of the routes, method and means of escape. The author was tempted to become emotionally involved and

'Uncle Claude' told him, 'Your trouble is, Jimmy, that you love your agents'. But he certainly retained the detachment necessary for security and efficiency. The book is written in a matter of fact, simple way, yet at times with humour. As Mr. Airey Neave writes: 'I hope that all who read this fascinating and honest account by Jimmy Langley will sense the sorrow and elation, the triumph and tragedy of the escape lines.' It is a great story.

Fighting Auschwitz (Julian Friedman. £4.25). A great deal has been written about the infamous Auschwitz concentration camp and the massacres in the gas chambers. This book, however, by a former prisoner, Dr. Josef Garlinski, is the first study of the resistance movement within the camp, which was set up in 1940 and continued its frightful course until overrun by the Russians in January 1945. Dr. Garlinski has carried out tireless research among what documents remain, has interviewed many ex-prisoners and more particularly has relied upon the remarkable memoirs, in the form of a military report, of Witold Pilecki, a member of the Polish Resistance Movement. In 1940 he deliberately allowed himself to be arrested and sent to Auschwitz so that he could organise there a resistance movement. This he did until April 1943 when he escaped and tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Free Polish Army authorities in Warsaw to relieve Auschwitz and free the prisoners. Nothing could be done. This book is the story of the underground organisation in the camp built up with remarkable skill by Pilecki and his successors amid all the horrors of appalling cruelty and murders in the camp. With tremendous courage, resourcefulness and cunning, the resisters were able to bring help to many prisoners, maintain morale and assist in escapes. It is a horrifying story of nobility amid all the wickedness, and told with remarkable objectivity and detachment. This the author determined to do. As Mr. M. R. D. Foot says in his Foreword, it is 'a tale of what people can do at their last gasp from every normal point of view — military, medical, social — to show what strength and toughness and dignity and compassion lie in mankind.'

The Nazis (Hamlyn. £2.95). George Bruce has produced a vivid account of the rise and fall of Hitler's Third Reich. He is concerned particularly with the early days of the Nazi movement, its ruthless emergence as a national force in the twenties and the horrific period of power in the thirties and after. He deals quite shortly with the course of the war and the final overthrow of Hitler and his regime in 1945. It is a grim and evil story told as objectively and simply as possible, and illustrated by over 150 photographs. The latter themselves form a remarkable pictorial record of Nazi Germany.

Switzerland (Benn. £4.50). This is an addition to the Nations of the World series by Professor Christopher Hughes, who combines learning with a personal knowledge of the country spread over many years. It is an ambitious book, intended for the traveller who looks beyond the surface, the reader who is simply lured by the thought of Switzerland and the student of some particular aspect of Swiss life or affairs 'who wishes a brief guide to the aspects of the country with which he is not primarily concerned'. It is all-embracing, with great quantities of information against a historical background. The treatment is concise, concentrated and in the space available inevitably superficial. On the other hand, Professor Hughes provides a valuable summary of how the Swiss system works in constitutional, political, social and industrial terms.

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incorporating The Fortnightly

May 1975 Volume 226 No. 1312

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May 1975 Vol. 226 No. 1312

GOUGH WHITLAM'S IMPACT ON AUSTRALIA

by Keith D. Suter

GOUGH WHITLAM, through his foreign tours, has increased Australia's standing in international relations as no other Australian Prime Minister has done since Sir Robert Menzies' second period in office (1949-65). Ironically, at home Whitlam and the Australian Labour Party (ALP) are far less admired and it is possible that the ALP will be voted out of office by the end of this year.

This article has three tasks. The first is to examine why the ALP Government is now threatened with electoral defeat and what are the chances of the ALP actually being defeated. Second, five reasons will be given why the ALP Government has not been able to achieve all that its supporters have hoped that it would. Finally, some observations will be made regarding what the Government has been able to do and why, even if the ALP is defeated in the coming months, it will still have set the pace for Australian politics for the rest of the 1970s.

Gough Whitlam dominates Australian politics. The ALP victory in the December 1972 Federal Election was to a large extent due to him. After he took over the ALP leadership in 1966, Whitlam began altering the ALP's image to make it more attractive to middle-class voters and so reduce some of its 'left-wing' content, for example, the Liberal-Country Party (L-CP) Government had often managed to make political capital out of the ALP 'being soft on Communism' and so Whitlam reduced the ALP's attention on international issues (like its opposition to the Vietnam war), while increasing the ALP attention on domestic issues which directly affect middle-class voters, such as health, urban renewal and education.

Whitlam's strategy worked because on 2nd December, 1972, the ALP was elected to office—thus ending 23 years of conservative Liberal-Country Party rule—largely because of a swing to the ALP in the suburban areas of Sydney and Melbourne. However, the ALP victory was a close one since the Government obtained only a seven seat majority in the House of Representatives of 125 seats and the ALP did not get control of the Senate so that it remained controlled by the Opposition Parties.

As soon as the ALP won, therefore, it was faced with the prospect of the Senate refusing its Bills; this is one explanation for the Government's speed

in trying to introduce Bills and all its other activities because it was afraid of being voted out of office before it had time to achieve all that it wanted to. However, the Government lasted 18 months before the Senate decided to oppose its Bills and so force another Federal Election. The Election was even closer for the ALP in that its House majority slipped to three and it failed to get control of the Senate.

There seems a high probability of a 1975 Federal Election. As in 1974, the mechanism for this will be the Senate's rejection of the Government's Bills, notably the 'Supply Bills' which authorise the Government to spend money and without that authorisation the Government cannot function.

There is now an even greater incentive for the Opposition in the Senate to force an Election. On the one hand, Australia like most other liberal-democratic countries is going through its worst economic crisis for 40 years. No matter what Whitlam may do for Australia's image abroad, the Election will be decided on economic matters; and the Government's relative unpopularity compared with the Opposition is due largely to dissatisfaction over unemployment and inflation.

On the other hand, Whitlam has ceased to be the ALP's main electoral asset and has now become an ALP liability. There is now a resurgence of his image as devious and incompetent—a great change from the May 1974 Federal Election when, even though according to opinion polls the electors believed the Government to have made a number of errors, few electors were willing to blame Whitlam for the mistakes and instead viewed him as doing his best surrounded by stupid Ministers. In the current opinion polls, his standing is as low as that of the Opposition leader.

However, in much the same way as the L-CP Government was often saved from electoral defeat by electors regarding it as a lesser evil than the ALP Opposition, now the ALP Government is being helped by the poor performance of the L-CP Opposition. A persistent theme in the Australian conservative parties is that they have perished when their main leader has left the leadership. Menzies created the Liberal Party out of the remnants of the previous conservative parties and led it to victory in the 1949 Federal Election. Menzies retired in 1965 and since then the Liberal Party has been unable to find a suitable replacement. Bill Sneddon is the fourth leader in 10 years and like his three immediate predecessors (the late Harold Holt, John Gorton and William McMahon) is still not regarded as being of Menzies' stature.

Sneddon's most recent crisis was an attempt in November 1974 to have him replaced by Malcolm Fraser, who took a prominent role in Gorton's overthrow as Liberal leader and who is regarded in some Liberal quarters as more of a vote catcher because he is seen as a hard-line person who would give more leadership ('leadership' is now the key phrase in Australian politics) than the apparently more indecisive Sneddon, who comes over badly in the mass media. This attempted overthrow was useful to the ALP as proof that the Liberals are too busy fighting among themselves to run the country. (The Country Party, very much the minority in the L-CP

coalition, does not have a direct say in who should be the Liberal leader.)

The Opposition has three problems as to whether or not to force another Election. One is timing: the May 1974 Election was premature from its point of view because if the Election had been held later the L-CP would probably have won because the economic problems got much worse during the second half of 1974. Therefore, if the Opposition forces an Election —which otherwise would not be due until May 1977—it has to select the right time and at present economic experts are divided as to whether or not the economy will improve in the near future. Second, there is some doubt whether the L-CP could win with Sneddon as leader, but if he is replaced it may not do the L-CP much good both because it will reinforce the view that the Liberals cannot decide who should be leader and because some moderate Liberals (such as the Young Liberals) do not care for Fraser's conservatism and so the L-CP would be somewhat divided in the Election —a feature which the ALP would emphasise.

Overall, then, the Government faces a great risk that it will have an Election on its hands in 1975 but there is no certainty that the ALP will lose it.

It is now necessary to examine the five main reasons why the Government has not been able to achieve all that has been expected of it. First, with the exception of economic problems and wars in which Australia is directly involved, politics are dominated by personalities and not policies. The media play an important role here in setting the context in which political dialogue takes place. Compared with, say, the UK, Australia lacks the 'serious' media like *The Times* and programmes like *Panorama*; instead they are mainly concerned with trivia and very little sophisticated investigation and discussion goes on in the media. Apparently, it is assumed that consumers are not interested in 'serious' items and, anyway, the laws of libel and slander are generally more restrictive in Australia than in the UK.

The result is that Australian Governments lurch from one crisis concerning a personality to another. For example, for almost a week recently the media were concerned about the Deputy Prime Minister's (Dr Jim Cairns) expected appointment of the beautiful Ms Juni Morosi to his staff and there were rumours of scandals of her love-life with Ministers and her involvement in illegal business ventures. None of these rumours has been proved, but because of the outcry, Ms Morosi was not appointed. The rumours conjured up memories of the main feature that people can recall of John Gorton's premiership: his friendship with the equally beautiful and talented Ms Ainsley Gotto. Since the media are so concerned with ephemeral issues, Australian Governments usually have to divert their energies from long-range issues to ephemeral ones. The ALP Government is even worse off since the media are largely owned by conservative opponents of the Government and so the Government has few solid supporters among the media.

A second reason is the Government's lack of options in domestic matters. Australia is a federation and the Constitution clearly lists what powers the

Federal Government has. There has been a gradual centralisation of powers by Australian Governments since World War II but 'states' rights' still constitute an important theme in the discussion on most political issues and often the Government has been hampered because it lacked the powers to handle particular problems, for example, the control of prices, which remains a matter for each state Government should it wish to exercise that power.

Third, the Whitlam Government is undoubtedly one of the most energetic in Australia's history; Whitlam's thirst for work (not a noticeable Australian quality) has been emulated by his colleagues so that there is a constant impression of a Government doing things. But there has been no 'grand design'. Overall, the Government has been highly pragmatic and has often rushed from one policy to another with little time for reflection. This may be seen in the Government's greatest problem: the economy. In December 1972, the Australian economy was one of the strongest in the world with ample foreign exchange; Whitlam, like most other people at the time, had no idea that the economy was heading for such a bad period and he and his colleagues have been slow to recognise that the buoyant economy was running into severe problems. It was not until halfway through the May 1974 Election that the Government fully recognised, after much prodding from the Opposition, the depth of the economic crisis. Since the Election the Government has gone from one economic policy to another.

There have been a July 1974 mini-budget, the September Budget and a November mini-budget. If nothing else, the Government has killed the notion of the Budget being an annual economic blueprint. Within the last few months, the Government has decided to restrain public expenditure, and then later increased public expenditure; contrary to most predictions from economists, the Government devalued the Australian dollar; it lowered tariffs but imposed a number of import quotas; it tightened the availability of money and increased taxation but has now increased credit and lowered taxation.

A fourth reason is that the ALP is a mixture of political views. Within the ALP Parliamentary caucus, in UK terms, the views range from almost as left as Michael Foot to well into the Conservative Party—the latter MPs and Senators being people who would be more at home in the Democratic Labour Party (DLP), which was formed after the ALP split in 1954-55 because the ALP was regarded by some as too 'left-wing'. Whitlam is somewhere in the middle, trying to balance one extreme against the other and maintain the outward impression of unity. This is one reason for the lack of a 'grand design': it is difficult to see how there could be agreement on what should constitute a 'grand design'.

Finally, there is the large, inefficient public service, many of whose members have entered, and been promoted, within a public service working for the L-CP Governments. (When Menzies returned to power in 1949, he accused the public service of being run by ALP supporters because the ALP had been in power for eight years.) The ALP Government has made some changes at the top and there is now a royal commission examining the public service. But it is difficult to see what could be done to make the

public service more responsive to the ALP (or other Governments) because it is so cumbersome.

Notwithstanding the above difficulties which have confronted the Whitlam Government, in just two years in power it has managed to achieve some notable changes. Inevitably, one must begin with Australian foreign policy. Australia under the L-CP Governments was an isolated country which during World War II shifted from one guardian (the UK) to another (the US) and which did not doubt that it was necessary for Australia's foreign policy decisions to be made in London or Washington.

Whitlam's supporters have urged him to break away from the US and UK and have a more independent position for Australia. Whitlam has not done this entirely, although he has been more willing to criticise the US (as over the December 1972 bombing of Vietnam) than his predecessors ever did, and he has tried to loosen the constitutional and emotional ties between Australia and the UK. Instead, Whitlam has selected a third course: an approach which emphasises the inter-dependence of all countries around the globe and the need for international co-operation. Unlike previous L-CP Governments, and in keeping with the 1941-49 ALP Government which played an important role in 1945 as leader of the middle-powers during the drafting of the UN Charter, the Whitlam Government has placed great emphasis on the UN. Through his foreign trips (10 in two years), Whitlam has taken the main burden of widening Australia's contacts. The reciprocal visits have meant that Australia in 1974 was visited by, among others, the Shah of Iran, a Japanese Prime Minister and the Presidents of Tanzania and Indonesia. The Government has also reformed Australia's notorious 'white Australia' immigration policy. In short, Australia has suddenly become more internationally-minded, less xenophobic, officially less racist and more respected around the globe, especially by less developed countries.

Second, despite the limits created by states' powers, the Government has in two years achieved some remarkable social reforms. It has almost quadrupled Federal expenditure on education; and given considerable sums to improving the cities, social welfare services, Australian Aborigines and the arts. It has abolished most censorship (though the states still retain their powers here); divorce reform is on the way; and the Government soon expects to be able to ratify the UN's two Human Rights Covenants (which most other Governments still have not done).

Unfortunately for the Government, some of these reforms have been so fast that the voters have not yet recognised them (for instance, the intangible but noticeable change in the country's cultural life so that Australia is ceasing to be such a philistine country). Other reforms will take a few years to be fully effective (for instance, urban renewal). Taken together, the Government may not get much electoral benefit from these changes.

Finally, if Whitlam is beaten at the next Election it will be due in part to the Opposition using Whitlam's political techniques. Despite their leadership problems, the Liberals have followed Whitlam's method of modernising

the party machinery, using more sophisticated electoral techniques and avoiding the crude old slogans (like conjuring up the 'Communist menace' of the ALP) which Whitlam has ensured can no longer be hurled at the ALP and which the voters are now too astute to fall for. Thus, the Opposition can find few matters of substance with which to disagree over ALP policies; instead it now focuses on the methods used by the Government to implement the policies (a favourite criticism is that the Opposition supports the principle of particular reforms but not the speed with which they have been implemented, such as the recognition of China and North Vietnam).

In short, if the economy improves this year and the ALP recovers its popularity, the Whitlam Government will probably stay in power until May 1977 and could then be re-elected so as to continue its record of being among the most reformist of all Australian Governments. If it is voted out of office in the next few months the Government, and especially Gough Whitlam, will still have set the pace for an L-CP Government to follow for the rest of the 1970s.

[Dr. Keith D. Suter is Lecturer in the Department of Government, The University of Sydney, Australia.]

The June issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *New Zealand and the EEC* by Juliet Lodge, *Britain Learns the Swiss Lesson* by Christopher Hughes, *A Canopy of Limitations* by E. Maxwell Fry, the first of two articles on *Northern Ireland* by Hugh Munro and Part 2 of *The Shot Heard Round the World* by Esmond Wright (held over from the May issue).

MORAL JUDGEMENTS AND POLITICAL PREJUDICE

by Geoffrey Stern

AN inveterate connoisseur of correspondence columns, I happened recently to be browsing through some letters relating to 'Watergate', and one in particular caught my eye. It had been written in the spring of 1973 by an irate female, evidently alarmed by the tone and volume of press comment on the affair and incensed by what she took to be the baseless denigration of the then President, Richard Nixon. In the columns of the *International Herald Tribune* she voiced her indignation thus: 'How can you question the morality of the man who has stood so valiantly against drugs and abortion?' Admittedly, the exact nature of her complaint is not altogether clear. For she might have been suggesting that a man who opposes pot and promiscuity could not possibly condone illegality. Alternatively, her point might have been that to connive at such proceedings as illegal wire tapping, intimidation, bribery, burglary, fraud, forgery, perjury and conspiracy to thwart the course of justice is no sin, provided these are used in the fight against 'moral pollution'. What is clear, however, is that this correspondent's undoubted moral passion was not matched by an equal regard for moral consistency or coherence. And in appealing to the press to stop giving publicity to Watergate and related matters on the ground that 'these outrageous stories' were undermining the President's struggle 'to protect us from dirt ridden hippies, filthy pornography and communism' she further demonstrated the partiality and selectivity of her ethical judgement.

True, these were the days before anyone had heard of the 'White House tapes'. Yet even then the Watergate affair had already implicated members of the White House staff, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Security and Exchange Commission, one if not two Attorney Generals and a host of lesser officials, and it is intriguing to speculate what the correspondent would have made of a scandal of such magnitude had the setting been, say, Allende's Chile and the perpetrators Communists instead of honest-to-God American Republicans. Indeed, would her ardent faith in the leadership have been so assured, one wonders, had the electoral and other irregularities which Watergate brought to light been employed by the opposition in the service of a Democratic victory? And would those who, like her, accused the media of sensationalising the story have made so little of it had the notes which were freely circulated at the time been Russian roubles instead of American dollar bills?

What I am suggesting is the existence here of a kind of moral blindness in which people who can be acutely sensitive to the moral failings of others fail to see or take sufficient account of the ethical shortcomings of those with whom they share a sense of political, cultural or ideological

kinship. To illustrate further, I propose to focus on Watergate again, but from the perspective of a persistent critic of both ex-President Nixon and the American political system—the *Morning Star*. In a special article written within a week or so of the letter quoted above, one of the regular contributors to Britain's Communist daily began with an attack on what he called 'the anti-democratic character of US politics and the whole electoral process', and he illustrated his theme by looking first at the concentration of power in America's Chief Executive. 'The President', he complained 'personally appoints people to positions of highest executive power, personally supervises a military set-up with billions of dollars at its disposal . . . appoints federal judges and bends to his service . . . the Justice Department, the FBI and the tax men'. The writer then examined the machinery of state, found that 'corruption, perjury, spying, burglary and bugging is an integral part' of it and concluded that 'murderous decisions' can be taken 'without any vestige of consultation with millions of ordinary citizens'.

But if this is so 'undemocratic' why, then, does the writer give his support to a system allowing no political opposition, which condemns its critics to prison, mental institutions, exile or even death, and has always relied heavily on secret police methods, rigged elections and heavy censorship? The answer is, of course, because the contributor to the *Morning Star* is partisan and, in consequence, his article is prejudiced—pre-judging issues without proper perspective, due consideration or adequate enquiry. If the writer is at all troubled about the standards of conduct associated with the system he endorses he certainly does not show it and it is, indeed, possible that he does not regard as morally reprehensible any activity which occurs in the service of the cause in which he strongly believes. In short, there is more than a hint here of 'double standards', that is, of a willingness to excuse for a cause he believes to be just conduct he would not normally condone.

Now there is nothing new about 'double standards'. Indeed, they may be said to be part and parcel of social living. Admittedly, some can be merciless in their criticism of questionable actions committed supposedly on their behalf, but the tendency is for people to make allowances for the misdemeanours of the tribe to which they belong, the cause which they cherish, or the team they happen to support. And when people are bound together by a strong faith, they are often able to do with a clear conscience what the doubters and sceptics might find difficult to justify. The medieval church did not hesitate to break promises and to burn religious rebels at the stake because it held that 'with heretics there is no need to keep faith'. Lenin and Stalin could readily sacrifice thousands of lives because they thought that 'everything that serves the revolution is right'. John Foster Dulles could sanction one foreign intervention after another because he believed that in the crusade against communism no holds were barred. And today there are those who have no qualms about political assassination, kidnapping, air piracy and even the mass murder of innocents so long as it serves 'the struggle against imperialism' or 'the right to an independent

homeland'.

True, these are extreme cases. But, as I see it, we are all to a greater or less degree selective and inconsistent in our assessments of human affairs, and hence, are disposed to apply to those not of our in-group a standard of judgement that is more rigorous and exacting than that applied to our political or ideological confrères. While the 'opposition' is often assessed on the basis of a 'perfectionist' ethic, in which no allowances are made for circumstances and actions that fall short of 'perfection' are condemned out of hand, our affiliates, trusties and associates are generally adjudged according to the 'contextual' or 'non-perfectionist' ethic, in which due cognisance is taken of the difficulty of satisfying competing moral claims and in which circumstances are taken into account. In short, what is regarded as 'an unmitigated evil' when committed by *them* becomes 'a regrettable necessity' when done by *us*. We can thus be appalled by the Nazis' wanton destruction of Rotterdam and Warsaw and yet be unperturbed by the saturation bombing of Dresden or the atomic raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We can be outraged by the Soviet intervention in Hungary and yet applaud the landing of American marines in the Dominican Republic. We can warmly endorse the United Nations' 'devotion to principle' when its actions are heavily influenced by American pressures, and yet deplore the 'politicisation' of the General Assembly when its sessions are dominated by the interests and demands of the non-European, non-white and largely non-aligned countries of the 'third world'. We can be ardent champions of civil rights in countries whose regimes we oppose, but conveniently ignore those denied rights in countries we support.

It is instructive, for example, that among those most 'outraged' by the suggestion that ex-KGB chief, Alexander Shelepin, should visit Britain are people who saw nothing objectionable in entertaining officials from regimes (now discredited) like that of Papadopoulos in Greece or Caetano in Portugal. It is no less revealing that the Shelepin visit should have been commended by the journal most given to campaigns for the release of political detainees from the jails of such countries as Spain, South Africa and Chile (post-Allende). Equally striking is the fact that those who condemn racialism in Southern Africa do not necessarily object to it in Uganda, while those who support self-determination for the Palestinians or the people of Namibia (that is, South West Africa) do not necessarily extend the principle to include the Latvians and the Lithuanians, Kurds and Kashmiris, whose claims to self-determination might be logically no less powerful. Moreover, while it may be ironic that the Society of Czechoslovak Lawyers who have remained strangely silent about conditions in their own country should be highly incensed by the denial of civil liberties in Chile, it is no more ironic than the Chilean junta's apparent solicitude for democracy, constitutionality and economic order, all of which it claims were at risk under the Allende regime which it was 'obliged' to overthrow.

This tendency to selectivity in our judgements also makes us partisan in our use of terms. Nowadays, for example, given the disrepute into which the 'imperial' idea has fallen, a country's policy tends to be labelled

'imperialistic' only by those who oppose it, and what is 'economic assistance' from one point of view is often seen as 'neo-colonialism' from another. A government is 'peace loving' and 'democratic' to its friends, 'aggressive' and 'dictatorial' to its enemies, and what one party regards as 'separate development' another sees as 'racial discrimination'. In addition, there is a whole arsenal of partisan expressions relating to warfare. We call guerrilla warriors 'freedom fighters' if their struggle is one we support; we call them 'terrorists' if we are opposed to their objectives. The same army 'liberates' or 'enslaves', depending on which side of the political fence one happens to be, while 'unprovoked aggression' in one context becomes 'retaliation' in another.

It is clear, then, that partisanship, partiality and prejudice are very much a part of our lives and that people will always rally to the support of their tribe, their team or their faith in the face of challenge. But there is a distinction to be drawn between partisanship and blind prejudice, the latter being a commitment that in its narrow and passionate intensity goes well beyond the mere taking of sides. In my view it is blind prejudice with its simplistic moral polarities that constitutes a particular danger today. For however noble moral passion may be, it can cloud or severely distort perceptions of reality, and we live in a highly complex and potentially explosive world in which rigid and intransigent attitudes, ignorance and lack of rational understanding can have incalculable consequences.

This is not to imply, however, that we need go to the opposite extreme of a complete and thoroughgoing moral nihilism, for a theory which rejects all moral principles and regards all values as meaningless is as subversive of social coexistence as is the simplistic moralism of blind prejudice. Rather it is to underline the importance of the distinction between matters of fact and matters of opinion and to plead for a standard of judgement that is well informed and based on an appreciation of realities, potentialities and feasibilities. It is, moreover, to stress the need for the exercise of moral scruple in the pursuit of our objectives and for the recognition that whatever our own cherished beliefs, aspirations and interests, other people have theirs. For while we like to believe that there is some ultimate validity in our concept of 'the right' it is my contention that in the final analysis none of us can claim to have a monopoly of wisdom, truth or moral rectitude.

[Geoffrey Stern is Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics.]

BRITAIN'S FIRST REFERENDUM

by Tim Renton, MP

NOT long ago I asked the House of Commons Research Library to find a word for me that described an animal or a process that faced two ways or was capable of moving in opposite directions at the same time. Apart from Janus and the Pushmi-Pullyu of the Doctor Doolittle books, they suggested 'bifarious' meaning 'pointing in two ways, in opposite directions'. I begin therefore by noting that, on the issue of the referendum, Britain has a bifarious Prime Minister.

On 25th November, 1969, Mr Harold Wilson said that referenda were 'not a way in which we can do business'. Two years later, he repeated that he had always opposed a referendum. Another three years passed, and the Labour party, still under the leadership of Mr Wilson, fought the second General Election of 1974 on a pledge that 'within 12 months of this election we will give the British people the final say which will be binding on the Government on whether we accept the terms (of re-negotiation) and stay in or reject the terms and come out'.

This pledge left it purposely vague whether the British people were to have their final say by means of another General Election or a referendum. Then, on the 23rd January of this year, Harold Wilson, once more Prime Minister, announced that a referendum would be held this summer to find out whether the British accepted or rejected the renegotiated terms of British membership of the Common Market.

Mr Wilson's conversion to a referendum conceals no new-found belief that thus lies the true path for British democracy. The ghosts of both previous Labour Prime Ministers, Attlee and Ramsay Macdonald, sleep too uneasily for that. The dingy truth is that, from early 1972 onwards, the Labour party has threatened to tear itself apart over the principle of British membership of the EEC. The only means of keeping the Labour movement together was, in effect, to by-pass the Parliamentary Party and, like Pontius Pilate, to hand the decision directly to the people with a cry 'Let them decide'.

This political manoeuvre has already produced strange results. Collective Cabinet responsibility is an integral part of British governmental practice. This doctrine has been waived for the period of the referendum campaign. Although the Cabinet has made a collective recommendation to the British people that they should accept the new EEC terms, individual members of the Cabinet are free to dissociate themselves from this recommendation and, whilst remaining in Government office, to campaign against it. Out of a Cabinet of 23, five are appearing on platforms arguing that their colleagues have got it all wrong.

The mind boggles at the confusion this will cause with the British electorate. Already faced with the need to answer a simple 'Yes' or 'No' on the most complicated political issue of all time, they will now have the added

torture of listening to different Government Ministers producing different sets of statistics to show, variously, whether membership of the EEC is vital or disastrous for the UK. Small wonder if many refuse to vote.

This leads to the question of percentages and what will constitute a majority. The White Paper, which the Government published towards the end of February, said that the referendum result would be decided by a simple majority, without qualifications or conditions of any kind. But other countries have found that referenda votes have tended to be lower than those at General Elections becaue people are asked to vote for an idea rather than for a person who is well known to them, and there is none of that clash of personalities that stimulates interest at Election time. The argument has therefore already developed that the Government should obtain overall support from those entitled to vote of, say 40 per cent. Equally, the Scots and Welsh argue that the results should be declared not on a single national basis but on a country by country basis, within the United Kingdom, or even on a constituency basis. Both of these will be resisted by the Government. Having created this new Frankenstein, they will wish to keep the business as simple as possible and to endeavour to reach a final conclusion, however low the turnout.

Dicey, the great expert on the British Constitution, did not regard a referendum as unconstitutional. He referred to the referendum with apparent favour as the People's Veto and others, such as Arthur Balfour in 1910 and Churchill in 1945, have been quite ready to use a referendum for political purposes. The fact remains that there never has before been a national referendum in Britain and the depth of change that will result is therefore unknown. Analogies are drawn with Australia, Ireland and Denmark. But in each of these countries a written constitution prescribes exactly when a referendum should take place. Britain, having no written constitution, is in the dangerous position that there is no specific provision either when there should be a referendum or when there should not be one.

Harold Wilson has argued that the referendum on the EEC will be a unique event. But he cannot bind his successors, and this argument is already largely ignored. The Scots and Welsh Nationalists think in terms of future referenda on full self-government, or eventual independence, for Scotland and Wales; the Liberals would like a referendum on proportional representation, the 'Law and Order' Brigade on capital punishment. Indeed, it is ironic that many Conservative MPs who are determined to preserve the sovereignty of Parliament have signed a Motion calling for a referendum on capital punishment, confident that this will result in a national demand for the return of the death penalty. Once we are on the slippery slope of 'The People's Veto', there will be a constant clamour for increased use of this populist device. *Facilis decensus Averno.*

The referendum as such will not be unconstitutional. A Bill will come before Parliament in April enabling the Referendum to be held and, assuming that it is passed, this will satisfy the constitutional proprieties. Members of Parliament will, however, find themselves in a different position after the referendum, no matter which way the decision goes. Once the electorate

has been directly consulted, they will expect their wishes to be followed and will be increasingly dissatisfied with Parliament if they are not. A constituency's relationship with its MP must alter. Already Conservative MPs have felt the hurt pride of that small part of their constituency which was consulted about the Conservative leadership and which opted for Ted Heath, only to find that MPs thought and voted otherwise. The dilemma is going to be infinitely worse once the EEC referendum result is known, and MPs will certainly be asked whether they, as individuals, are going to follow the electorate's will.

Individual members of Parliament say boldly that they were elected as representatives, not delegates, of their constituencies, that their pro-, or anti-Common Market views have always been known, and that, whatever the result of the referendum, they cannot be committed by it. They may hark back wistfully to Burke's speech to the electors of Bristol 200 years ago: 'but authoritative instructions, mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgement and conscience, these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land. . . . You choose a member indeed: but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of Parliament.'

Alas, the trend will go, post-referendum, increasingly against Burke. Members of Parliament will find that their constituents expect them to mirror their opinions. If, collectively, they fail to do so, a popular cry will arise that the matter should be put to the test of a referendum. Opposition parties will pander to this by saying that, if a certain piece of legislation is passed to which they are opposed, they will submit it to a referendum when returned to office. From there it will be but a short step until no major legislation is complete until it has been approved by referendum.

Associated with this will be an inevitable decline in respect for the House of Commons. Members of Parliament, much as they are maligned, earn a certain grudging respect because they often refuse to do what their constituents wish. They justify this obstinacy with such comments as that they are better informed; they are ahead of the times; their own feelings on the issue are well known. But this independence must disappear as referenda become established. Constituencies will expect their Member to implement the decision for which they have voted.

The delegate who does not follow his instructions gets short shrift; he is replaced by someone more pliant.

The relative status of representative and delegate is well analysed by Ralf Dahrendorf in the third of his 1974 Reith Lectures. Whilst commenting favourably on the growth of 'citizen's initiatives' in Community politics, and regarding these as a necessary and favourable counterpoise to the inability of bureaucracy to deal with the problems for which bureaucracy has been created, he went on to say that there are other aspects of participation, including the process of converting representatives into delegates.

> There is a sense in which the extension of chances of participation eventually destroys these very chances. It is certainly right that those who hold elective

> office should feel and be committed to representing the interests of their electors; in the past, the principle of representation has, at times, been grossly abused. But mandate government is absurd in theory and frightening in practice. In theory, it means that the representative is unable to make any move without the explicit approval of his electors. Such approval is hard to come by; it takes time and long, almost interminable discussions. The delegate is thus unable to react quickly to new situations and problems. He is, above all, unable to give a lead, that is, to introduce an innovation before it has been accepted by all; he has neither incentive nor real possibility for being ahead of his electorate. This is bad enough, for it means inaction instead of action, immobility instead of progress.

Members of Parliament, who adopt the referendum either as a means of keeping the Labour party in one piece or, more honourably, because of their EEC aims, have not thought through the derogation of their own independence and of the status of a sovereign Parliament that this referendum will entail.

As soon as the White Paper was published, argument developed over the wording of the suggested question: Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community? The anti-EEC camp said that the use of the word 'stay' showed a pro-bias in the framing of the question. 'Stay' implies security, continuity, a sense of belonging. It would have been more impartial to say: 'Do you think that the UK should be in the European Community?'

On the other hand, Australian referenda have shown a clear tendency for the electorate to vote 'No' to any proposed change, as the status quo is more popular. Of 32 constitutional amendments submitted to referendum since Australian federation in 1901, only five have been approved. Therefore those who are pro-EEC argue that the question, as posed in the White Paper, is fairly worded. If it were to be biassed in favour of the EEC, it would read 'Do you wish Britain to leave the EEC?' This would catch the electorate's natural propensity to vote 'No'.

This may all seem a ludicrously semantic argument. What it illustrates is the scope that the holding of a referendum gives the Government to sway the result by its choice of the question, the timing, the length of the campaign, and the size of financial support that it offers its opponents.

Hitler consulted the people by means of referenda in order to obtain support for withdrawal from the League of Nations and the invasion of Austria, an even higher percentage, 99.75 per cent, voted for the loss of Germany 99.08 per cent of the votes were cast in favour; in occupied Austria, an even higher percentage, 99.75 per cent, voted for the loss of their independence. Needless to say, Nazi officials controlled the polling-stations. Referenda are now banned in West Germany; Hitler's example had shown how easily they were misused in order to give apparent popular approval for the dictatorial actions of Government.

De Gaulle's approach was subtler, but his purpose in referenda was not far different. For him they were a means of by-passing the French National Assembly in order to obtain sanction for the course he wished to pursue. He held four national referenda. All four were criticised at the time on the

grounds of political and constitutional morality, two were criticised on the grounds of breach of the constitution, and in one—the referendum of October 1962, under which he secured the direct election of the President (himself) by national suffrage rather than through an electoral college—the National Assembly passed a motion declaring that referendum unconstitutional.

None of this, of course, made any difference to de Gaulle. In effect, in all his referenda, he was asking for a personal vote of confidence on questions of policy, although, under the French constitution, those questions were the prerogative of a Government responsible to Parliament.

In the end, the referendum proved de Gaulle's own undoing. He went to the country on an issue of senate and local government reform. But, as always, the referendum was a vote of confidence in himself. He was by then ageing and increasingly unpopular, and Pompidou was waiting in the wings. On this parochial issue, therefore, he was defeated, and he promptly resigned.

One of the most interesting recent referenda was that held in Norway in September 1972 on the question of EEC membership.

On this occasion the Government failed to influence the electorate in the way they wished. About two-thirds of Parliament were in favour of membership, including both Government and the main Opposition party.

But the 'antis' conducted a far more effective campaign, concentrating on emotive issues such as the threat to Norwegian agriculture and fisheries, the possibility of brothels being set up under the Community's rules of freedom of establishment and even the banning of bicycles in Oslo (cf *New Europe, Referenda: the Lessons for Britain* by Ernest Wistrich, Vol 3 No 1). They kept the pro-Marketeers, with their lengthy arguments about the balance of economic advantage, on the defensive, constantly having to deny the virulent but irrelevant arguments of the other side. Families split down the middle; and, as with the Dreyfus affair in France, a feeling of bitterness and division lingered on.

The poll, at 78 per cent, was some four per cent below the normal General Election turn-out, and 53 per cent of those who voted were against membership, 47 per cent for. The Labour Government resigned and the Labour party has lost ground politically ever since. More credibility has accrued to the extra-parliamentary pressure groups who achieved this surprising result in the face, as Norwegians see it, of professional politicians; and this has been matched by a greater sense of alienation between the political parties and the public.

These examples inspire little confidence in the referendum, and it seems irrelevant at a time when Britain is plunged into deep economic crisis and when true control of the country's future has passed to the leaders of the mineworkers', the electricity and the railwaymen's unions. But worries about Britain's lack of economic growth, our strike record and our propensity to import other countries' manufactures now take second place to thoughts on what will happen to the pound during the five days when votes

are being counted at Earls Court Exhibition Hall or county centres.

The future after the referendum is a matter for intense debate. If, on a minority vote, there is a majority for leaving the EEC, how long will the valedictory negotiations last, especially as there could be a General Election in the meantime? Will there, therefore, be procrastination by a pro-Europe Labour Government in the expectation that a future Conservative administration might get them off the hook?

This speculation, although all-absorbing, should have been unnecessary. It has been forced on a country that is already a member of the EEC and is starting to benefit from that membership, by the vaccillations of a Prime Minister who makes Lord North seem like a pillar of successful consistency. Harold Wilson may have cast his mind back to the early origins of the Labour Party in the Trade Union movement and he may have remembered that the first Trade Unions relied on plebiscites of their members in order to arrive at every decision. This inevitably led to votes in favour of lowering contributions and increasing benefits, and this in turn produced bankruptcy for many unions. As the disadvantages of this were obvious, the right of putting questions to the vote came then to be confined to the executive of the union. Thus, Sydney and Beatrice Webb concluded in their study, *Industrial Democracy*, 'the Referendum, far from supplying any counterpoise to the Executive, was found to be an immense addition to its power'.

The Prime Minister may intend this to be the end-result of Britain's first national referendum. But 1975 is far from the ideal year in which to introduce the experiment. Currently, I wonder who will be governing whom in twelve months' time.

[Tim Renton is Conservative Member of Parliament for Mid-Sussex.]

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON: (Part One) FOUNDATION

by Sir David Martin, C.B.E.

ON 28th November, 1660, a group of scholars met at Gresham College, near the Guildhall of the City of London, and resolved to form a group to promote the new 'Physico-Mathematicall Learning'. Their purpose was set down in a Founding Memorandum. King Charles II was informed and expressed his interest. In July 1662 this group was given a Royal Charter. The Group was named 'The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge'. During its 314 years of existence, The Royal Society, the commonly used shortened version of its name, has exerted great influence on the development of science and learning and in many ways it is now regarded as Britain's national academy of sciences.

The founders, among whom were Robert Boyle and Christopher Wren, were distinguished intellectual leaders of their time. The new experimental philosophy had been gaining support in western Europe, especially in Italy where Galileo had disturbed the doctrines of the Church by reporting his observations in astronomy. In England, William Gilbert had shown by experiment that the Earth itself was a great magnet and William Harvey had shown, again by experiment, the circulation of the blood in the human body. It was believed that the new experimental philosophy could explain many natural phenomena and was worth attention and support. Much encouragement was given by the writings of Francis Bacon to this new approach to the study of nature, especially in a book called *The New Atlantis* of which many editions were published.

King Charles II in his Charter stated:—

> . . . . we look with favour upon all forms of learning but with particular grace we encourage philosophical studies, especially those which by actual experiments attempt either to shape out a new philosophy or to perfect the old . . . .

and he referred to the Fellows

> . . . whose studies are to be applied to further promoting by the authority of experiments the science of natural things and of useful arts to the glory of God, the creator, and the advantage of the human race.

He granted the Society a coat of arms in which is incorporated the motto *Nullius in verba* which is taken from an ode by Horace and expressed the determination to withstand dogma and to verify all statements by an appeal to facts.

The Society agreed to meet every week and to discuss experimental science, an important element of which was the presentation of experiments arranged by the Society's first Curator, Robert Hooke, one of the greatest inventive geniuses of all time. They were also anxious to disseminate scientific knowledge through the printed word and Henry Oldenburg, one of the two first Secretaries, on his own initiative, instituted the *Philosophical Transactions*. In the *Transactions* Oldenburg published the correspondence that he had had with foreign scientists and this feature of

corresponding with good scientists wherever they are to be found has been maintained ever since. In these early days such European scientific giants as Huygens, Malpighi, Leibniz and Leeuwenhoek submitted their work to the Royal Society. The Society also published a number of books including *Micrographia* by Robert Hooke.

In 1671 a young man of 29 years of age was admitted into the Society. This was Isaac Newton whose association with the Society was to be more beneficial to its welfare than any other single individual. The Society is naturally proud of its association with Isaac Newton and it preserves in its archives the first reflecting telescope made by his own hands. We are also proud possessors of the manuscript of the *Principia,* probably the greatest scientific book ever written.

Newton was President from 1703 to 1727. By then the Society was firmly established not only as the leading scientific organisation in the world but also one of the first which ushered in the new scientific age.

Later in the eighteenth century the Society was responsible for sending Captain James Cook in the *Endeavour* to observe the transit of Venus in 1769 on the island of Tahiti, a voyage which developed into a major geographical survey of the South Pacific and opened up this area of the world to western communities.

On board ship with Captain Cook on his epic voyage was Joseph Banks, a botanist who later became President of the Royal Society and he remained President for 42 years (1778-1820). He was a man of great influence and did much to strengthen the Society, not only in Britain, but in establishing stronger bonds with scientists overseas.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the study of nature by experiments continued. Faraday's experiments in electro-magnetism laid the foundations of a new branch of science and great new industries. Darwin's voyage in the *Beagle* and his subsequent work led to the establishment of the unifying concept of organic evolution and the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859.

John Dalton, Joseph Priestley, Henry Cavendish and Humphry Davy had made significant contributions to chemistry. Davy followed Banks in the Presidency. There was a revolutionary aspect in science and such changes were reflected in the Royal Society's own constitution.

In 1847 the Statutes of the Society were changed. Hitherto, many amateurs, including many persons with but a mild interest in science were elected to the Fellowship but from 1847, when for the first time the majority of the Society's Council members were men with considerable scientific attainments, it was decided that the annual election of Fellows be limited to 15 persons all of whom were distinguished for their original scientific work. This change of policy took many years to bring about its intended effect but the result was the emergence towards the end of the nineteenth century of a society almost wholly scientific both in its membership and management. It remains so today and is truly representative of science in Britain.

Unlike some other leading academies it is *not* a government institution but an independent body free to give objective opinions and advise about scientific affairs. Its Fellows, elected after a searching evaluation of their own work in science or technology, pay an annual subscription, make the Society's own rules and elect their own Officers and Council and contribute their own time and expertise voluntarily for the benefit of the Society and the objects stated in its Charter. The fund of expert scientific advice on call to the Society is unequalled in any other national corporation.

Election into the Society is regarded as a much respected honour. The selection of candidates is a process to which the Fellows attach great importance and devote much time. Thirty-two elections are now made each year. Citizens of the countries of the British Commonwealth and Eire are eligible for candidature. Each candidate must be proposed by six Fellows, four of whom must know him or her personally. The claims of these candidates are examined by first classifying them into groups and each group is assessed by a committee of Fellows so that each candidate receives the fairest possible consideration. Each selection committee consists of nine Fellows, three of whom are replaced each year. In this way, each subject has appropriate assessors and the automatic change ensures use of newly elected Fellows and prevents the establishment of any dominance by any particular individuals in the selection procedure. Elaborate arrangements are made to ensure that borderline candidates also have fair assessment. Each year the Council receives the recommendations of these section committees and the final selection of 32 names is made by Council. The Fellows themselves are then invited to make the election and in March each year the names of the successful candidates who have become Fellows of the Royal Society are announced. Foreign Members are elected in the same way. On 31st December, 1973, there were 763 Fellows, 74 Foreign Members, elected at a rate of four each year. 37 of the Fellows are Nobel Prizemen. Among the 763 Fellows are a very few individuals elected by special statute at a rate of not more than one per cent per year. Such an election signifies conspicuous service to the cause of science. Among those in this category are a few heads of state, some very prominent politicians, e.g., former Prime Ministers, HRH The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, Lord Mountbatten, the Duke of Northumberland and other well known figures. The Society's Patron is Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and some members of the British Royal family have been elected Fellows. The age at which Fellows are elected varies. One or two of the present Fellows were elected before they reached the age of 30 years, some were older but if the ages are averaged, the age of election of Fellows is about 47 years.

The Society operates under its Royal Charter, by which it has power to make its own Statutes. Any alteration in Statutes must be referred by the Society's Council to a meeting of the Fellows and there is unlikely to be any change which is not favoured by the Fellowship as a whole. Such changes are made from time to time to keep the Society adjusted to changing circumstances. The Charter lays down the constitution of the Council. It consists of 21 members, 10 of whom must retire each year and of the

10 new nominees, five must not have served on Council before. Again this ensures the flow of new blood in the Council membership. The President's powers are defined in the Charter as being the senior office-holder of the Society. He can appoint any members of the Council as Vice-President in any of his years of office. The President must also be elected each year, but by custom, begun about a century ago, he usually occupies the office for a total of five years. The President for 1970-75 is Sir Alan Hodgkin, OM, KBE, FRS. There are four other Officers of the Society, the Treasurer, who is the senior Vice-President, the Secretary for the physical sciences, the Secretary for the biological sciences and the Foreign Secretary who is responsible, under the Council, for the conduct of the international scientific relations of the Society. These Officers, who must be members of Council, have terms of office varying from five to 10 years and with a rapidly changing Council membership they provide the continuity necessary for the proper management of the Society's affairs. In support of the Council and Fellows, the Statutes provide for an Executive Secretary and his staff to carry out the duties which Council determines. As the present Executive Secretary, I have a staff of about 95 persons to carry out the Society's varied duties.

Council draws on the expertise of its Fellows as much as possible by appointing them to committees. These committees are also subject to rules of change of membership and each chairman carries a good deal of responsibility for the advice which his committee renders to Council. In all there are 176 committees and sub-committees associated with the Society and all committees submit reports of their work and their recommendations to the Council of the Society. Council does, of course, appoint *ad hoc* committees to deal with specific problems. These committees may be grouped as follows, (a) those concerned with the Society's domestic affairs, e.g., its publications, its library, its finance, its selection of Fellows (known as Section Committees), its meetings (the Hooke Committee), its Conversazioni, its international relations, its industrial activities, its interest in education; this group also contains committees concerned with research appointments and some awards made possible by gifts or legacies entrusted to the Society, as well as others covering a wide variety of topics from scientific information services to the editing of the correspondence of Isaac Newton, (b) those concerned with joint activities with other bodies, e.g., in education there are joint committees with the Institute of Biology, with the Chemical Society, with the Institute of Mathematics and its Applications, with the Institute of Physics and with the Council of Engineering Institutions; a Symbols Committee which is joint with other scientific societies, and other committees, e.g., with the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts for scientific and technological records and with the Ministry for Overseas Development for providing advice on the scientific affairs of Unesco, (c) those concerned with the administration of certain elements of the Parliamentary Grant-in-aid, e.g., grants for scientific investigations including expeditions, publications and libraries, and (d) those concerned with the conduct of relations with international non-governmental organisations; those committees are called British National Committees;

(the word national relates to the national aspect of relations with international bodies and *not* to the responsibility for national domestic policies) they are concerned principally with the Society's membership (on behalf of the UK) of the International Council of Scientific Unions, each of its member scientific unions and its international scientific programmes.

Membership of the committees in group (a) is almost exclusively limited to Fellows of the Society but in the others one may have non-Fellows representative of the subject, e.g., the membership of the British National Committees is representative of all aspects of scientific activity in the United Kingdom, e.g., scientific societies, government and other laboratories. The Council, through its committees, receives the best obtainable scientific advice and is in touch with the scientific community for which it can speak with confidence. This is not, of course, an exclusive mechanism for seeking advice and Council deals with matters for which there is no committee but the committee structure is the principal basic framework for consultation and advice to assist the Council in the discharge of its chartered duties.

In seeking to fulfil its Charter the Society seeks to attain the highest standards and in doing this and through its other achievements this private body has become to be recognised as Britain's academy of sciences. Accordingly, its advice and representation has been widely sought both by Government and many institutions both public and private. In fact the President is frequently consulted in relation to a wide range of senior appointments both in the Government and non-Governmental spheres. Only in the appointment of the scientific members of the principal Research Councils is there a statutory requirement that he must be consulted by the appointing Minister (the Secretary of State for Education and Science) but, in fact, he is consulted about many more appointments. The Society's Council appoints from its own membership an assessor on each of the Research Councils.

On many occasions during its long history the Society has tendered advice to HM Government. Sometimes it is specifically sought and sometimes the Society has made direct representations on scientific matters which it has considered to be of public importance. Since 1849 the Society has, at the invitation of Parliament, administered a Parliamentary Grant-in-Aid for specified purposes. In tendering such advice, the Society contributes several important features (a) the advice and experience of the nation's leading scientists in university, industry and government service, (b) a wide interdisciplinary approach in natural science and mathematics, (c) strong international links with overseas academies and many international scientific organisations, (d) the facility for mounting high level public discussions of scientific matters and their publication.

The Society works closely with the British Academy (of which the Society can claim to be the foster parent) and the Council of Engineering Institutions and, in this way can be considered to be associated with the whole of the learned society and engineering community of Britain. The Council appoints representatives to some 120 governing and other bodies of institutions ranging through scientific research organisations, universities, public schools, the British Association for the Advancement of

Science, the British Museum, the British Broadcasting Corporation, etc.

The Society held its first meetings in Gresham College near the Guildhall of the City of London. Principally because of the plague and the Great Fire of 1666 its meetings were temporarily held in Arundel House but until 1710 its home was in Gresham College. It is written in the Society's charter that the Society's home must not be more than 10 miles from the Guildhall. From 1710-1780 the Society was in Crane Court, the move being made largely on the initiative of Isaac Newton. Shortly before Joseph Banks became President the Government, on the instructions of King George III, announced its intention of providing the Society with accommodation in Somerset House and in 1780 the Society occupied specially constructed apartments in Somerset House. In 1857 the Society moved to Burlington House, Piccadilly and in 1873-1967 it occupied premises there in the newly built wings providing premises for the Royal Society and a number of other scientific societies. Each successive move has been motivated by the need for space in which the Society could operate effectively and as early as 1900 the Society began making representations that its present accommodation was too restricted for its current activities. Many proposals were examined, many new plans prepared and especially after the last war, a great deal of effort was devoted to the question of providing more space. However, it wasn't until Lord Florey, OM (President 1960-1965) saw the possibility of new premises for the Society in Carlton House Terrace that these efforts were brought to a successsful conclusion by the Society's occupation of 6-9 Carlton House Terrace, in central London, in 1967. This move would not have been achieved but for Lord Florey's determination and drive and the Society will always remain in his debt. It was expensive for the Society but Lord Florey had faith in the respect and goodwill the Society enjoys and raised the necessary funds for the capital conversion costs of over £600,000. Since 1967 the Society has been able to conduct its affairs and services without the severe constraints imposed by lack of accommodation. The present premises include two lecture rooms, a conference room, a Council room, five committee rooms, the Society's library, offices for the Society's staff, excellent reception rooms and a dining room. Attendances at the Society's own scientific meetings increased from 2,000 to 5,000 per annum. The use of the rooms for other scientific meetings has been encouraged and the Society is now frequently the venue for international scientific bodies, a service which it could not provide before it moved to the present premises.

The resources at the Society's disposal have never been enough and always been constrained by lack of money. In its earliest days a fee of one shilling was payable by each Fellow attending the Society's weekly meetings. An early leading figure of the Society, Sir Robert Moray, prominent in the court of King Charles II, sought to establish the Society on a sound financial basis by favour of the Monarch but the King's own efforts to seek money from Parliament for his regal purposes precluded the implementation of Sir Robert Moray's schemes. The history of the Society is replete with references to impecunity. Fellows now pay an annual sub-

scription of £20 per annum but in relation to the Society's expenditure this is small. Just as the Society's representation is widely sought so various donors have entrusted sums of money to the Society in the expectation that it would be wisely spent. The purpose for which such endowments are to be spent is usually specified by the donors. The Society is the trustee for 56 research funds as well as 40 special funds, some of which provide for awards of medals and prize lectureships. All of these funds are for purposes which coincide with those of the Society. From the trust funds the Society granted about £300,000 last year.

Although a levy for administration of these trust funds and Fellows' subscriptions make a contribution to the running costs of the Society and by prudent management the publication costs of the Society of about £250,000 per year are balanced by sales income, the Society's general purposes account is always in great difficulty in trying to equate income and expenditure. From time to time therefore, the Society has made appeals for money to enable it to carry out the work which it wishes to undertake. A current appeal launched in July 1974 for £1,000,000 is meeting with some success, £560,000 having been promised at the time of writing, but there is still a long way to go for the appeal to be regarded as a complete success. It is the Society's hope that income from the appeal fund will enable it to balance its general purposes account. Various important projects of the Society receive finance from trusts and foundations which have been and are very generous supporters of the work of the Society—again such provision is for specified purposes and not for the general purposes account of the Society. This specific help is greatly appreciated but whilst its value is great in carrying out specific tasks desired by the Society the rapid inflation of these days makes it increasingly difficult to meet the basic costs needed to keep the Society sufficiently viable to expend such monies to the optimum.

As mentioned above, the Society administers an annual Parliamentary Grant-in-Aid. Apart from paying the Society's annual rental, this Grant is administered to operate grant giving for scientific investigations and expeditions, International Fellowships, Research Professorships and International Relations (travel grants, subscriptions to international scientific unions, etc.). Advice to Council on the allocation of grants is given voluntarily by Fellows and other scientists serving on the Society's committees. The administration of this grant (about £1,500,000 in 1974-75) is therefore of direct benefit to the scientific community as a whole and includes a contribution towards the Society's operating costs.

[Sir David Martin, CBE, has been Executive Secretary of The Royal Society of London since 1949. *The Royal Society of London* (Part Two): *Some Present Day Activities* will be published in the June issue.]

OVERCOMING THE ATLANTIC MALAISE

by H. J. MacMoolson

THE shock waves of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 are still working through the world's political and economic systems. Within the short span of a year the leaders of the major Western European powers and the United States were swept away. Just a year before the US bicentennial, the state of the Atlantic alliance remains uncertain. NATO's South-East flank has never been more exposed and once again the destiny of Europe lies in the hands of the British people.

Despite the positive development of the International Energy Agency, the strains in the transatlantic relationship, although now muted, weaken the ability of the Alliance to respond effectively to the challenges of a fast changing world. These strains are now almost endemic and arise because much has happened on both sides of the Atlantic in the past 25 years without any complementary institutional changes. Neither NATO nor OECD reflect the changes that have occurred since their inception in the security, trade and political spheres around the world.

When NATO was created, the possibility of conventional war between East and West could not be ruled out. In these circumstances, the US lead in nuclear weapons was counterbalanced to some extent by the US need for Europe's conventional forces to buttress its world wide position. Germany was re-armed and NATO countries sent contingents to Korea. As soon as the security of Europe and the USA became almost exclusively a matter of nuclear power, the US need for Europe grew less while the European need for the USA increased. NATO cannot exist today without the USA, but the USA could survive without NATO.

The French were quick to see this reality, developed their force *de frappe* and have consistently opposed US troop withdrawal from Europe. Under the US nuclear umbrella, France has tried to build up a countervailing economic and political power in Europe without which the European states would go the way of the Athenian allies in the Delian league. This is perhaps as relevant a classical analogy of Dr Kissinger's reference to the fate of the Greek city states in face of Macedon and Rome.

In conducting the Vietnam War and in launching the massive air-lift to Israel without NATO aid, the United States has demonstrated quite starkly the fundamental disequilibrium between Europe and America in security matters. This disequilibrium can create both anger and fear in a relationship. The American people feel a natural sense of outrage when they see their allies trying to gain economic and political advantage at their own expense while they have to bear all the military burdens and pay the price to maintain a credible defence posture around the world. The recent string of statements from the Secretary of State, Congressmen and President deploring this state of affairs and threatening US troop withdrawals from Europe reflect this mood. The Europeans, and particularly the French, fear American dominance because of this military pre-eminence. They are

equally afraid of losing the US military shield. This leads to an artificial anti-Americanism which is always reduced to ultimate silence when anxiety about causing US withdrawal becomes too strong.

Psychologically this is an unhealthy state of affairs. Politicians on both sides of the Atlantic will have to think hard of ways to cure this neurosis created by disequilibrium in the vital security sector.

While the United States remains the world's strongest economic power, its pre-eminence in this field is not as marked as in the military sector. The Marshall Plan helped restore the war-shattered economies of Europe and the EEC helped forge the world's greatest trading bloc. The EEC's agricultural policy and its expansion of exclusive commercial arrangements with the Mediterranean countries and much of Africa increasingly threaten to hurt the US exporter. The EEC's latest moves to formulate a special relationship with the Arab world are part of this same drive to secure stable supplies of raw materials and fuels, as was the case during the Roman Empire and in the era of European imperialism. Europe lacks the raw material and energy resources of the USA, USSR and China. If Europe is ever to be a great power it can only do so *in conjunction with* the Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and African States. Without the raw material, fuel and food supplies of these states, Europe would starve, freeze, and cease to work.

The dollar devaluation of August 1971 brought home to the American people some of the consequences of the economic expansion of Europe and Japan. In the economic field, Europe and America are more equal competitors than partners. In the agricultural sector and in the Third World, there is a genuine conflict of interest.

It is an open question whether the EEC as it has developed is in America's ultimate economic interests, and Europe and the USA have yet to do battle within GATT on this important issue. The USA has shown considerable unease at the possibility of a special economic relationship between Iran and Canada with the EEC.

The frictions that arise from competition in the economic sector can from time to time intensify suspicions and apprehensions arising from other parts of the relationship.

Although there has been no manifest change in the external structures of political institutions either in the USA or Europe since the Second World War, Americans and Europeans have undergone different political experiences. In the USA, there has been a series of political assassinations, the racial violence, the Vietnam trauma and the Watergate scandals. Optimism and aspiration, always a characteristic of the American political ethos, has given way to a certain pessimism and world-weariness. In Europe, there has been a gradual emergence out of the darkness of the Second World War which was in effect a European civil war. The Franco-German reconciliation and the long delayed anchoring of Britain to Europe are major developments and the progress of the EEC itself has given some Europeans a sense of confidence in their political capacities. The dream of a united Europe with its traditional links with the Mediterranean and

Middle East is not as impracticable as it once might have appeared. It is the pursuit of this dream through the humdrum procedures of the Community process which has tended to dim the European gaze Westwards across the Atlantic.

In a strange sense, American frustration with Europe hides a deep political need to regain European respect. The building of new political relationships with the USSR and China, vital as they are, is no substitute for a warmer and closer relationship with Europe. America can always stand on its own feet without Europe, but it cannot break the cultural and human link with Europe. Europe in its expanded state can hope to exist politically without America, but it cannot hope to hold its own in a world of superpowers without America. Each side needs to comprehend the other's current political wants—Europe wants the dignity that comes from carving its own role in the world, the United States wants the sympathy it deserves in its time of internal crisis. Europe should be less cold towards the United States and the United States should be more tolerant of Europe's growing pains.

The political need for the moment is not the declaration of Grand Charters nor procedural haggling nor Ministerial carping. It is a need for the vision of a Churchill or Kennedy and the creation of institutions to overarch the two pillars of the Atlantic alliance recognising the vital difference between the United States, which is a sovereign state, and the EEC which is *not* a sovereign state. Only when the peoples of Europe and America share a common vision can this second important disequilibrium be faced with equanimity and a reasonable climate be created for their Governments to resolve the bread and butter issues in the military and economic fronts.

The options for Europe now are:

(a) Risk US withdrawal and eventual Findlandisation by pursuing a 'Europe first' policy on all fronts.
(b) Develop a credible nuclear deterrent as soon as possible in order to be genuinely self-sufficient.
(c) Seek a new basis for the Atlantic alliance.

The choices for the United States are not dissimilar:

(a) Withdraw and let Europe go its own way.
(b) Help Europe develop its own nuclear deterrent and then withdraw.
(c) Seek a new basis for the Atlantic alliance.

Options (a) and (b), while possible for both sides, can be ruled out since they involve a fundamental break from past policies and future aspirations which is in neither side's interest at the present time. Neither side is prepared to push its own case *à outrance*. A new basis for the Atlantic alliance is now urgently required. What shape might it take?

President Kennedy's concept of the two pillars of the Atlantic alliance was sound. But now more thought needs to be given to the machinery whereby the two pillars can contribute to the establishment of a larger whole, while at the same time retaining their own specific identities and interests. At present, NATO deals with security, OECD with economic

matters. On the political front, there is no institution enabling direct communication between the USA and the EEC on matters of common concern.

It is suggested here that a special Council for Atlantic Union should be established to draw up an action programme of *mutual recognition* for the peoples of Europe, North America, and perhaps Australia and New Zealand. The objective should be to tackle the current crisis by Liddell-Hart's indirect approach. The establishment of an institution over and above both the EEC and the USA will help overcome the basic inequality between the USA, a sovereign and military superior state, and the EEC, a Customs Union. This will reduce French fears. Instead of pin-pointing the areas of direct conflict, the aim should be to identify areas of common interest to the peoples of Europe, North America, and Australasia, where joint action can be taken to enhance the significance of the Alliance. For example, common funds could be created to provide grants for students from one member of the Alliance to study in another, to initiate integrated scientific and social research programmes so as to avoid unnecessary duplication, to open the space programme to any citizen of a member country, to deal with the common problems of pollution, to explore for and to develop alternative energy sources, to pool together the raw material, food and fuel resources of the members of the Alliance etc. Job opportunities should also be available on a common basis and perhaps even the vote should be permitted to any resident from another member country. Measures of this type would bind the peoples of the Alliance closer and make more manifest the benefits of co-operation without interrupting the economic and political independence of any party.

The Council for Atlantic Union should also be the forum for disputes in the military, economic and political sectors to be referred. The Council consisting of all interested parties would be in a position to clarify the points at dispute, subject each party to scrutiny, and enable each party to indicate the purpose of its policies and defend its objectives as being consistent with the overall interests of all parties. Members of the Alliance might, therefore, be able to pursue divergent policies without necessarily damaging the interests of others or creating unnecessary confusion in delicate areas where another member might be involved in bilateral negotiations.

Had such a forum existed, Europe would have had a chance to scrutinize US détente policies and the United States to scrutinize many EEC policies. The very existence of such a Council would have the effect of each party taking into account the reactions of other members of the Alliance when developing and pursuing its own policies independently. In today's multipolar world, channels of communication can become confused unless the correct machinery is established.

The proposed Council for Atlantic Union will not solve basic conflicts but will provide an instrument to revivify the Alliance and abate fears arising from the fundamental disequilibrium in the military and political sectors and divergent interests in the economic field. It should help make each member more aware of others' needs and thereby create the calmer

climate for serious discussion of areas of basic conflict.

Looking ahead a little, it is only within this broader framework that Europe and Britain might work out a new and abiding relationship should the British people vote for a withdrawal from the EEC, and the United States might accept the closer links between Canada and Europe. Looking further afield, the Council for Atlantic Union might also be able to exert a liberalising influence on Southern Africa, by offering South Africa membership in return for a change in its internal regime. It might also enable Europe to join America in stabilising the Middle East.

This may appear too ambitious a programme for an institution as yet unborn. It is, however, time for the Western World to raise its sights again if it is not to celebrate the US bicentennial by continuing to drift in the political and economic doldrums.

A political commentator from the D.D.R. writes:

The world-wide process of détente has for some considerable time not left the states of the Atlantic alliance unaffected. Facts bearing this out are France's commitment to relations of peaceful coexistence with the USSR and other socialist countries, the favourable development of relations between the United States and the USSR, the comprehensive set of treaties concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany and on West Berlin, and the participation of the NATO states in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe.

However, this process is not devoid of contradictions. The military-industrial complex wields great influence in the imperialist countries and armed might is still considered a main instrument of policy against socialism. The forces advocating the cold war and confrontation have not yet admitted defeat and in a number of countries they are still holding key positions. The result is a wide range of activities that are objectively directed against the relaxation of tensions and adversely affect peace and security both in Europe and in other parts of the world. These activities chiefly centre on the military sphere of NATO.

Since 1968 the military policies of NATO have been based on the so-called double concept of 'defence and détente', which is to suggest that the continued intensification of armament by NATO and a policy of détente are not inconsistent with each other. But in reality this concept is merely an attempt to justify the hectic armament of NATO and to bring it into agreement with co-operation in the process of détente, notably the current talks on problems of European security and the reduction of forces and armaments, which can no longer be avoided. It is meant to explain why the leading quarters of NATO conduct these talks from a position of military strength and continue to prepare their armed forces for the event of a war on a large scale.

In a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations dated June 1974 the Soviet Union said that a recent expert study on the great Powers' military presence in the Indian Ocean had completely distorted his country's policy there while avoiding the issue of Western military blocs which were a serious source of tension. The letter emphasised that the USSR had no military or naval bases in the Indian Ocean region and was not establishing any: it had provided vast aid to countries struggling for national liberation and was engaged in normal trade, training cruises and scientific investigations.—*Editor.*

TURNER AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS

by John Gage

CENTENNIALS are traditionally occasions for the re-assessment of their subjects, but in the case of Turner this is an especially delicate task, for there has never been, and certainly at the moment there is not, a consensus of opinion about the nature of his art. Readers of Turner's two major modern biographers, Finberg and Lindsay, could be forgiven for thinking they were reading about two entirely different characters, and the visitor to the recent Bicentenary Exhibition at the Royal Academy might well imagine he was confronted with a personality scarcely reflected in either of their studies; neither Finberg's reticent beaurocrat nor Lindsay's tortured radical, but a painter who was assertive, self-confident, Protean, and above all authoritative: perhaps the most single-minded artist England has ever seen. Single-minded, but not, I would suggest, simple.

This divergence of view about the painter who has always been thought of as our most impressive artist (and the catalogue of the Academy exhibition shows clearly that Turner never lacked for enthusiastic support) may be traced above all to the accident that placed his literary fate in the hands of two men especially unsuited to the task of presenting him to posterity: Walter Thornbury and John Ruskin. Thornbury was a routine professional book-maker, as ready to turn his hand to *Turkish Life and Character*, or *Every Man His Own Trumpeter* as to the biography of artists; he did a good deal of work recording reminiscences by Turner's friends and associates, but even the tidied-up second edition of his *Life of Turner* (1877) is hardly more than a rag-bag of anecdotes, stiffened by occasional documents and many pages of opinions about Turner's style, reprinted from Ruskin. And although his book is far less unreliable than has usually been thought (a correspondence with one of his chief informants, John Pye, in *The Athenaeum* for 1862, failed to reveal any serious errors in the information he transmitted from that source, and checks on his other material suggests similar conclusions), the tone of facetiousness and the appearance of haphazardness have caused subsequent biographers to keep their distance, and to avoid making the fullest use of the excellent material Thornbury supplied. Finberg, his most outspoken opponent, continued to bypass him almost entirely, and produced a very substantial *Life* (1939) based almost entirely on letters (which Finberg, however, printed rather than evaluated) and contemporary criticisms of Turner's work. The efforts of Turner's biographers to pirouette around Thornbury and to leave untouched the many suggestions he made about the painter's character and interests, has obliged every student of the artist to assemble a composite picture of his personality from as many as ten biographies, all of which contribute new information, and none of which, with the possible exception of Lindsay's, the most recent (1966), and in some respects the best, sought to evaluate and use the earlier studies. In any case, a general carelessness about Turner's person was characteristic of an aesthetic climate hostile to bio-

graphical approaches to modern art, and all too ready to welcome Turner as an apostle of formalism.

Ruskin's case is at the opposite extreme to Thornbury's, although he too conceived of himself at first as Turner's biographer, and gathered some important material, some of which was later used by the journalist. But in the end he felt that he could only contribute trivia, and the French critic, Ernest Chesneau, whom he persuaded to embark on a biography after the nature of Thornbury's work had become clear, died before it was seriously under way. Ruskin was the only man of genius in Turner's immediate circle, and the only critic in his day to sense what kind of an artist Turner really was. There is every reason to think that Turner held Ruskin, 44 years his junior, very much in his affections (Ruskin told Thornbury that extreme tenderness of heart was one trait of Turner's that must be kept constantly in mind); but he seems, too, to have recognised the heady fascination of Ruskin's style, so apt to outdo in brilliancy the painting it evokes, and he kept it constantly at bay. 'He sees *more* in my pictures than I ever painted', said Turner, for Ruskin was never given to abbreviation; and in the end it was a decade after Turner's death that he produced the fifth and final volume of his great study, *Modern Painters*, which had begun nearly 20 years earlier under the title of *Turner and the Ancients*. In 1836 Turner had dissuaded the 17-year-old critic from publishing his first article, a splenitic defence of the painter against the reviewer of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Rev John Eagles (himself a gifted landscape artist, as a recent exhibition at Bristol has shown): 'I never move in these matters', said Turner, 'they are of no import save mischief.' Turner had long pondered the relationship of words to painting, and concluded that painting had the harder time of it.

Taking up a remark of Reynolds that 'one short essay written by a painter will contribute more to advance the theory of our art than a thousand volumes of impossible practice', Turner rejoined 'but the opinions of a Painter is [*sic*] not different from the opinion of a conisseur [*sic*]'. Opinion was still simply opinion, however impeccable its source, but art depended on a different order of experience: practice. 'Practicability' was one of Turner's favourite words. Imagination, too, could not properly be a subject for critical exposition: 'The imagination of the artist dwells *enthroned* in his own recess', Turner told his students in a lecture of 1818, '[and] must be incomprehensible as from darkness.' And so he, who delighted in words, remained deeply distrustful of them when brought too close to the art he practised; and he was especially diffident when they were deployed by a master like Ruskin: 'How right Turner was,' said the critic in later years, 'in telling me that criticism was useless.'

And, of course, Turner's instinct was right. The extended eloquence of Ruskin's rhetoric has perhaps done more than anything to distract lovers of Turner from the characteristics of his work, although it was Ruskin alone who felt these characteristics comprehensively, and came closest to the centre of Turner's essential temperament. He felt the dangers of his own fluency in a letter about the *Slave Ship* (Boston Museum of

Fine Arts), which he owned, and which had been the occasion of a celebrated passage in Volume 1 of *Modern Painters* (1843):

> Purple and blue, the lurid shadows of the hollow breakers are cast upon the mist of night, which gathers cold and low, advancing like the shadow of death upon the guilty ship as it labours amidst the lightning of the sea, its thin masts written upon the sky in lines of blood, girded with condemnation in that fearful hue which signs the sky with horror, and mixes its flaming flood with the sunlight, and cast far along the desolate heave of the sepulchral waves, incarnadines the multitudinous sea.

In the letter, of 1847, Ruskin wrote:

> In describing 'The Slaver', if I had been writing to an artist in order to give him a clear conception of the picture, I should have said: 'Line of eye, two fifths up the canvass; centre of light, a little above it; orange chrome No 2 floated in with varnish pallet-knifed with flake white, glazed afterwards with lake passing into a purple shadow, scumbled with a dry shadow on the left' etc. Once leave this and treat the picture as a reality, and you are obliged to use words implying what is indeed only seen in imagination, but yet what without doubt the artist intended to be seen; just as he intended you to see and feel the heaving of the sea, being yet unable to give motion to his colours. And then, the question is not whether all that you see is indeed there, but whether your imagination has worked as it was intended to do, and whether you have indeed felt as the artist did himself, and wished to make you . . .

But Ruskin, like Thornbury, has made Turner's public wish to escape to a simple vision of Turner's work itself.

With this escape has gone, however, an assumption that Turner's was essentially a simple personality, and this is clearly not the case. The most recent version of this assumption was presented in the catalogue of the Bicentenary Exhibition, where Turner was credited with an essentially professional outlook; but if by 'professional' we mean subscribing to a set of standards below which he would not allow himself to fall, not to speak of a sense of the limits of appropriate activity, then there have been few artists less professional than he. Turner's professionalism, if he had it, consists in a lifelong devotion to his art and the institutions which he felt could best protect its interests: what precisely that art was, and how it should be developed, were matters on which he never seems to have reached a firm conclusion.

Turner is truly of the age of Goya and Delacroix (whose diffident relationship with Baudelaire has much in common with Turner's view of Ruskin) in feeling the constant urge to expand his repertory, to exploit new stimuli, to find ways of painting expressive of these new exigences, yet never losing sight of what had already been done. For although Turner went constantly in search of new worlds to conquer, he was the most self-involved of English artists, ever concerned to marshal his past while considering his future. As Elizabeth Rigby put it, after talking to him in 1844, Turner 'seems to love his art for no other reason than because it is his *own*'.

One of the chief obstacles to our recognising the force of Turner's expansiveness has been his semi-literacy, a function perhaps of that pro-

fessional upbringing as a topographical draughtsman which he quickly outgrew. Contemporaries found his mode of speaking and writing comic, and what is comic does not often seem to us to be serious unless the comedy is intended. Only some of Turner's was. Constable (who much admired Turner's breadth of mind) said that a self-taught artist was taught by a very ignorant person, and this is the way Turner's literary pretensions have come down to us. He thought otherwise, and with his usual pugnacity defined learning in just the way that he himself had acquired it: 'the reflection of years increased by thought analytically considered and by a vigorous intellectual distilled from the maturity of the mind, a self-formed knowledge'. Naivity is perhaps the besetting virtue of art-historians, but it has hampered their attempts to confront an artist like Turner whose approach to language and experience was, to say the least, sophisticated, although his linguistic habits often suggest the contrary, and have helped to make him unattractive to students of Romanticism perfectly at home with the writings of Delacroix, Palmer or Constable. But Turner's spelling and syntax are scarcely more eccentric than his language of painting, and it is perhaps a sign of our visually illiterate culture that we have come to take this latter for granted.

It is fortunate that a diary has recently come to light in New York, written by Turner at the age of 17, at a time when his art, still entirely confined to topographical water-colours, was only just beginning to give evidence of the painterly pre-occupations which were to come. The drawings in the British Museum which are alluded to in the diary, are indeed, pale enough. And yet the text, which records a trip to North Wales, shows us a personality of far wider vision and sensibility than we could have expected from a study of Turner's work. We find a spectator of landscape effects capable of rendering in words what only becomes the subject of painting years later:

> The clouds on the opposite hills. Dipping and forming light spots—considerably below us & the distant clouds floating in a line waving—& tinged with the most beautiful pearly tints—the white parts clear beyond expression.

But we find, too, a mind sensitive to history and a sharp observer of the contemporary scene: At Corwen, for example,

> within the Church found a fat Welch School Master teaching about 30 Childn—pews filled wth hay to kneel or sleep on—One old sculptured figr who appears by the latin inscription to have been Vicar of the place—he is like a good priest—drawn as grasping a Cup—close to his heart—he is in his Clerical habit the figr is perfect but no date.

Turner in 1792 was already capable of imagining the associations which were later to be brought to bear on the Carthage pictures, or *The Fighting Téméraire*.

For so far from being a formalist, Turner was fascinated by the associationist model of aesthetic perception which was in vogue at the close of the eighteenth century, and he was concerned to evolve a visual language which would stimulate the trains of associations implied by such a model. After an initial and sometimes rather makeshift descriptive phase around

1800, he began to adapt his titles and poetic captions to associative ends, to lead the mind, as Ruskin saw it, away from the immediate visual data into a world of imagination. It was primarily for this reason that Turner could never do without the figure, that aspect of his art which has come in for a good deal of abuse, but which has become interesting to some painters again in recent years. It is because most twentieth-century approaches to Turner have focused on his unfinished work (sometimes, and surely mistakenly, thought of as his 'private' art) and because aesthetics in this century has been substantially committed to theories of unconscious motivation, that the crucial role of the figure in Turner has never been fully recognised. It may still not be very agreeable to look closely at Turner's figures, and it may make the enjoyment of Turner far more problematical than it seems at present. Turner's fundamental belief in richness—at its most demanding perhaps in the tiny vignette illustrations to the poets—seems perhaps to be his most aberrant trait in the eyes of a public still committed to the ideals of economy and purity. But then it is astonishing that this public should look for satisfaction in the direction of Romanticism at all. Perhaps in the end the most promising sign that Turner is beginning to be understood on his own terms is the widespread complaint that the Bicentenary Exhibition was both too large and too demanding.

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UNITED KINGDOM'S TRADE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY — 1973 and 1974

by Michael Lloyd

CONTRARY to popular opinion, British membership of the European Community is *not* the reason for the substantial deterioration in the UK's trade balance. Rather has the expected expansion of trade within the Community taken place. Britain's balance of trade with her EEC partners, in comparison to any other major trading area, has improved relatively since entry.

These conclusions may be drawn from examination of the Commission's answers to questions on this topic from members of the European Parliament.

Before considering the Commission answers it may be useful to recapitulate briefly what was expected, by supporters of entry, to occur during the early years of UK membership of the Community, and to indicate some sources of confusion and error in analyses of the statistics.

First, no respectable economic commentator who favoured entry ever suggested sudden and substantial benefits accruing to the UK trade balance during the first few years of membership. The process was seen as gradual; the benefits in terms of increased net exports accruing slowly (and not 'automatically') year by year.

Second, it is difficult to measure precisely the effects of the removal of tariff and other barriers to trade. Obviously, it is necessary — but also extremely complicated — to substract effects on the trade balance which have nothing to do with entry or membership.

Third, one should not be mesmerised by fluctuations in trade balances, either surplus or deficit. A £100m deficit/surplus represents less than 1 per cent of current UK total imports or exports.

Fourth, comparisons should not be made between figures for the balance of trade between the UK and the other EEC countries and the aggregate figures for total trade and balance of payments. The former — regional — statistics are derived from the Overseas Trade Statistics (OTS), which give import figures quoted inclusive of the costs of freight and insurance and exports quoted exclusive of such costs. The latter statistics for total trade are derived from sources which quote both exports and imports exclusive of these costs. This unbalanced comparison produces an unfavourable picture from the point of view of UK trade with the EEC (or any other trading group).[1]

The substantial deterioration in the UK balance of trade during 1973 and 1974 continued a trend discernible before the UK joined the EEC. The total UK visible trading deficit (on an OTS basis) in 1971 was £636m, in 1972—£1,416m, in 1973—£3,399m, and in 1974—£6660m. The deterioration adversely affected trade with all the UK's major trading areas, the

EEC, the EFTA, USA, and Commonwealth. With all of these areas the UK has, over the past two years, been in substantial deficit. (*See Table 1*).

What are the reasons for this massive increase in the UK trade deficit? First, it must be emphasised that much of the deficit has resulted from adverse movements in the UK's terms of trade with other countries. (Equally, the brighter picture over the last few months has principally resulted from an improvement in the terms of trade because of relative increases in UK export prices.) From the date of the 'Smithsonian Agreement' in December 1971 to December 1974, the official depreciation of sterling against a trade-weighted average of other countries was no less than 21.6 per cent. The fall being most marked against the strong European currencies, eg 33 per cent against the German D-Mark, and 30.7 per cent against the Dutch gulden. These two countries alone accounted for almost two-thirds of the increase in the UK-EEC visible trade deficit between 1973 and 1974.

Furthermore, the whole of the deterioration of the UK current account balance between 1972 and 1973, nearly £1,400m, can be attributed to the 12 per cent deterioration in the terms of trade of the UK which took place between those two years. The deterioration was due in turn to increases in world commodity prices, including oil, and to the depreciation of sterling. The latter depreciated by 8 per cent, on a trade-weighted basis, between 1972 and 1973. (Statements by some commentators suggesting that the fall in the value of sterling was caused by UK entry into the EEC have to be proved not asserted. Most indications suggest that entry did not cause the fall in value. For example, sterling fell against the currencies of countries other than EEC countries. In addition, overall net capital flows into the UK have increased since entry.)

Apart from the deterioration in the UK's terms of trade, another factor which explains perhaps some £300m of the 1973 visible deficit was the exceptionally high rate (for the UK) of consumption-led economic growth which took place between 1972 and 1973. Between these two years the UK economy grew at a rate of 5.8 per cent at constant prices; this led to a considerable increase in imports of consumer durables and of capital goods for which the EEC countries are a major source. Offsetting this to some extent, the depreciation of sterling against European currencies also helped the capital goods sector in the UK to increase its exports to the EEC. In value terms alone, exports of machinery and transport equipment increased by some 27 per cent between 1972 and 1973. The growth of total UK exports to the other EEC countries was around 38 per cent in value terms compared with an increase of only 25 per cent to the rest of the world.

The rapid rate of increase of both imports and exports between the UK and her European Community partners also shows that the process of dismantling trade barriers — although only just started — has enhanced the already rapid rate of trade expansion between the UK and the other EEC countries. Over 1973 and 1974 the growth of the value of UK exports to the EEC was 87 per cent, compared with only 62 per cent to the rest of the world.

That the UK has not suffered in relative terms from membership of the Community is indicated by the fact that the proportion of the UK trade deficit attributable to trade with the EEC countries has fallen from 42 per cent in 1972 to only 32 per cent in 1974.

Some commentators argue that the above percentages, relating as they do to total trade, tend to prejudice the comparisons and should be made using the non-oil trade deficit. The argument is invalid since it does not in fact matter how the deficit is distributed among different goods — oil or non-oil — it nevertheless must be financed. However, if one examines the non-oil deficit figures the same downward trend in the share of the UK deficit is attributable to the EEC over the last three years. In 1972 the proportion of the UK non-oil deficit attributable to the EEC was 104.3 per cent;[2] in 1974 the proportion had fallen to 68.8 per cent.

It is worth looking in a little detail at the breakdown of trade with the other EEC countries in relation to certain key product groups, ie food, manufactures, iron and steel, chemicals, machinery, and oil.

Food imports from the other EEC countries rose from £652m in 1972 to £1,487m in 1974, or from 31 per cent to 44 per cent of our total food imports. Partly this represented a trend increase in food imports, but there was a substantial increase during 1973 and 1974. Despite this, there has been a trend decrease in the proportion of the total UK food trade deficit with the EEC from 86 per cent in 1972 to 55 per cent in 1974.

Between 1973 and 1974 almost 50 per cent of the increase in the total trade deficit with the EEC was accounted for by the food trade deficit (for 1973 over 1972 the figure was 34.6 per cent).

At first sight these figures may seem to justify fears about the Common Agricultural Policy pushing up food prices and worsening the trade balance. In fact, taking two important foodstuffs, the opposite can be demonstrated. In the case of beef, for example, in 1973 imports from the EEC countries accounted for 24 per cent of total beef imports, while imports from the Argentine and Australia countries accounted for 54 per cent. In 1974 the corresponding percentages were Argentine and Australia 21 per cent and EEC countries 73 per cent. Similar figures may be derived for wheat in relation to the USA and Canada and the EEC over the same period. Taking the beef and wheat import figures together, the *net saving* to the UK trade balance was around £30m, which inevitably showed up as an apparent increase in the deficit of around £100m.

Not all foods have been obtainable as cheaply from Community sources as from outside, but UK has obtained secure supplies of its food from the EEC since entry, at prices which on balance have been slightly cheaper than those prevailing outside the Community.

Moreover, it may be said that the switch to lower-cost Community sources of foodstuffs has benefited the overall UK trade balance during the last two years, though conversely this has been shown up as a deterioration in the UK-EEC trade balance.

The UK depends on her exports of manufactures, which formed 83 per

cent of total UK exports in 1974, to pay for her essential imports of food, fuel and raw materials, which formed 46 per cent of total UK imports in 1974. Exports of manufactures remained static at 28 per cent between 1970 and 1972. By 1974 the proportion had risen to 31.6 per cent, in value terms, despite the severe fall in the value of sterling noted earlier. Between 1972 and 1974 this represented an increase of exports to the EEC of 77 per cent, compared with only 66 per cent to the rest of the world. This is evidence of the beneficial effect of UK membership of the Community on the major item in British exports.

However, the optimism must be qualified, imports of manufactures from the other EEC countries have also risen substantially. To analyse why this has occurred it is necessary to look more clearly at particular product groups within the manufactures sector.

The deficit on oil trade with the EEC accounts for 12½ per cent of the total UK-EEC deficit. The deficit rose between 1973 and 1974 from £91m to £277m, accounting for 17½ per cent of the increase in the total deficit with the EEC. After food, iron and steel, oil was largest contributor to the increased deficit between 1973 and 1974. Some UK oil is shipped through Rotterdam and Bantry Bay in Ireland and the increased world oil prices were reflected in petroleum and petroleum products shipped from these ports.

Similar reasons can be adduced for the increase in the value of imports of plastics from the EEC which reflected the increase in oil prices. This item explains the major portion of the deficit in the chemicals sector between the UK and the EEC.

Iron and steel imports rose from £96m in 1972 to £175m in 1973 and £429m in 1974. This represents 13 per cent of the UK visible trade deficit with EEC in 1974 and 21 per cent of the increase in the total deficit between 1973 and 1974. The principal cause of the substantial increase in imports and the increase in the deficit was because of the expansion of demand for steel in the UK during 1972-73 and the disruption of production caused by the three-day week in 1974. The factors inevitably led to an increase in steel imports from the EEC countries, particularly Germany and the Benelux countries. These temporary factors have now disappeared.

In machinery and transport equipment, though the deficit in 1974 represented 11½ per cent of the total trade deficit with the EEC, the picture is much more rosy. Imports in this sector had been increasing at more rapid rate than exports between 1971 and 1972, and between 1972 and 1973. However, between 1973 and 1974 imports rose by only 17 per cent, while exports rose by 25 per cent. This improvement in this key sector of manufactures should now be maintained. Certainly a turning point seems to have been reached, and reached during the period of UK membership of the Community.

A rigorous analysis of invisible trades is not possible as detailed figures and breakdowns are not available. However, there was an improvement in the UK overall invisible trade balance of £150m between 1973 and 1972.

To avoid an undue pre-occupation with a narrow and short-term view of the UK trade position it is useful to look beyond the 1972-1974 trade balances. Consideration must be given to the broad international trade picture and the future prospects of the UK in relation to trade within present Community partners and elsewhere. Membership of the European Community has opened up considerable long-term opportunities for UK exporters. The other eight members of the Community comprise a market which in 1973 represented one-third of total world imports, and some £80,000 million worth of orders. Five of the other eight member countries are among the biggest customers of the UK, and Germany takes more UK exports than any other single country except the USA.

Since the Community customs union began to be created in 1959 the value of intra-Community trade has increased eleven-fold, twice as fast as that of world trade as a whole. As the new Community becomes a single trading group over the next few years, British exports should thus be able substantially to increase their share of the other eight Member States' imports. Such an increase can confidently be expected on three grounds.

First, the experience of the Six original member countries, who have over the last 15 years steadily increased their trade with each other, and have reduced their relative dependence on imports from third countries.

Second, the analysis given above for the first two years of UK membership which stresses the substantial growth of UK exports to the EEC and the special factors which have swelled the *value* of imports from the EEC to the UK.

Third, the emerging patterns in UK external trade with the world's major trading areas which, as table 2 indicates, emphasise the increasing relative dominance of the EEC as the UK's major trading partner.

Some commentators, apparently ignoring the evidence presented in table 2, have suggested that UK trade with Commonwealth or ex-Commonwealth countries represents an alternative to increasingly closer trade integration with other EEC countries. However, as demonstrated in the table, the EEC share of total UK exports has increased from 29 per cent in 1970 to 33½ per cent in 1974, and the EEC share of UK imports has increased from 27 per cent to 33½ per cent. This compares with corresponding Commonwealth-UK figures of a *fall* in the share of exports from 24 per cent to 17½ per cent, and a fall in imports from 21 per cent to 16½ per cent.

Other commentators have suggested that a large potential for trade expansion exists within Soviet Eastern Europe. The weakness of this argument, if suggesting Soviet Eastern Europe as an alternative to increasing trade with the EEC, is easily demonstrated by reference to the figures in the table. (It is of course possible, and desirable, that given the UK's difficult balance of payments problems that she should look for expanding export markets in all areas of the world, ie Commonwealth and Soviet Eastern Europe, to *supplement* increased trade with the EEC.) Between 1970 and 1974 the share of exports to Soviet Eastern Europe fell from an already very small proportion of 3.2 per cent to 2.6 per cent! The imports

share fell from 3.9 per cent to 2.9 per cent. In addition, between 1972 and 1973 the deficit on UK-Eastern Europe trade increased from £121m to £226m.

Looking towards the future, the enlargement of the Community clearly provided an opportunity for exporters in the other EEC member countries to expand their sales in British markets. Equally, and particularly given the structure of UK exports, enlargement provided opportunities for British exporters to sell on what is their largest and most rapidly growing market. The gradual removal of trade barriers as the Nine move towards a customs union, and the further integration of their trade, have enhanced trends already evident in UK external trade. The net effects on UK trade over the next few years cannot be predicted with certainty, but the performance of UK exports over the past two years give some cause for optimism, particularly since the fall in the value of sterling has been halted, for the moment at least. The main factor which will affect the UK trade balance during the next two years is probably not membership of the Community, though this should — as it has over the past two years — assist, but whether the necessary resources of manpower and capital will be channeled into the UK's major export industries.

Notes

1. In this article this 'error' is not removed because the bias is in the opposite direction from the main thrust of the arguments used in the article, and hence strengthens them.
2. This figure is above 100 per cent because non-oil trade with non-EEC countries was in surplus.

TABLE 1

	EEC	*EFTA**	*USA*	*Commonwealth*	*Total*
1972	– 580	–265	+ 37	–311	–1416
1973	–1167	–625	– 97	–654	–3399
1974	–2220	–755	–484	–580	–6660

* excluding Denmark.

Source: UK Trade Statistics. D. of T.

TABLE 2

UNITED KINGDOM TRADE — RELATIVE SHARES BY AREA

Imports (percentage of world total)
Exports

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
EEC (eight)	27.0	29.7	31.5	32.8	33.4
	29.2	29.0	30.2	32.4	33.4
Commonwealth	23.9	22.3	19.3	17.5	14.2
	21.0	21.9	18.9	16.6	16.4
EFTA	12.6	13.0	14.5	15.0	13.0
	13.2	12.6	13.8	14.0	13.6
USA	13.0	11.1	10.5	10.2	9.7
	11.6	11.7	12.4	12.2	10.6
Soviet Eastern Europe	3.9	3.5	3.5	3.5	2.9
	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.6
Rest of World	19.6	20.4	20.7	21.0	26.8
	21.8	22.1	21.9	22.2	23.4

Source: EEC.

[Michael Lloyd, an economist, joined the staff of the Commission of the European Communities on November 1st, 1973. His responsibilities include liaison with the British Trade Unions and the Labour movement generally.]

PAY DISPUTE CLOSES CELESTIAL VINEYARD

by Joseph H. Allen

Matthew: Chapter 20, Verses 1 to 16

For the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard. After agreeing with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into the vineyard. And going out about the third hour he saw others standing idle in the market place; and to them he said, 'You go into the vineyard too, and whatever is *right* I will give you.' So they went. Going out again about the sixth hour and the ninth hour, he did the same. And about the eleventh hour he went out and found others standing, and he said, 'Why do you stand here idle all day?' They said to him, 'Because no one has hired us.' He said to them, 'You go into the vineyard too.' And when evening came, the owner of the vineyard said to his servant, 'Call the labourers and pay them their wages, beginning with the last upto the first.' And when those hired about the eleventh hour came, each of them received a penny. Now when the first came, they thought they would receive more; but to each of them, each received a penny. And on receiving it grumbled at the householder, saying, 'These last worked only one hour, and you have made them equal to us who have borne the burden of the day and the scorching heat.' But he replied to one of them, 'Friend, I am doing you no wrong; did you not agree with me for a penny? Take what belongs to you and go; I choose to give to this last as I give to you. Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or do you begrudge my generosity?

The kingdom of Heaven, as such, must be unacceptable to democratic man. The Lord's action must be judged most arbitrary: and an action, anathema to any present-day union. In itself, it is discriminative. Yet paradoxically: egalitarian. The Lord said, 'The last shall be first and the first shall be last.' Nevertheless as a place of employment the industrial peace of Heave-n would not last the day in question—so what price eternal peace?

Without doubt, following such action, the gates of Heaven would certainly be picketed. No-one would be allowed to enter. The men who had worked from 'the third hour' would display their banners and be most adamant for 'an hourly rate for the job' and a 'differential payment'. They who had 'borne the heat of the day', would certainly claim for an 'incentive bonus'. By their fellow workers, the men of the 'eleventh hour', who tried to break the picket lines would be labelled 'Black Legs'. On the evidence to hand, the Secretary of the General Workers and Heavenly Grape Picker's Union would accuse the Lord of 'flagrant disregard of Union Procedure'.

This time not the Communists, Maoists or rebellious bands of Students but the Devil and his Angels would capitalise on the Lord's dilemma. The newly chosen ones, waiting outside the golden gates to enter, would be faced with the alternative: Hell—or Oblivion. Throughout the dispute, Heaven would be denied them. To those who chose to stay in, the Devil would use every modern device of intimidation. Above the Harping and Singing, the Devil would strike a discordant note. With the slogan 'one out all out' the uninterrupted *Songs of Praise* could well be in jeopardy. Saints and Angels alike would have to look to their respective Unions for guidance. And the Lord could expect little sympathy and support from His hierarchy. His act

would be judged capricious. As President of the Association of Heavenly Works and an affiliated member of the C.C.I. (Committee of Celestial Industries) the Lord would be considered to have broken the Committee's interna-l agreement, 'to pay the agreed rate for the Job'. 'Rate fixing' surely must always be a delicate arrangement negotiated between the Unions and the joint decision of the C.C.I.

The strike would have to be made official and sanctioned by the Unions involved. The less powerful Heavenly Wine Treader's Union would of necessity have to await a lead from the more influential General Workers and Heavenly Grape Picker's Union. And the Secretary in turn would have to wait for an official report from the self-appointed representative of Heavenly Grape Pickers and then for a directive from his committee. Time was not on the Lord's side. By comparison the workers had an eternity in which to settle their problem.

Also, it, too, would be suggested that the Lord had implicated his Steward. Who was the Lord's Steward? Nor would it go unnoticed that the unnamed Steward was not a Shop Steward and representative of the Workers. Without doubt, the steward would be branded, 'a bosses man'. It would seem from the evidence that the Lord had never recognised a spokesman for the workers. It would be the man whom the Lord had reprimanded, and to whom He had said, 'friend, I am doing you no wrong; did you not agree with me for a penny?'—He, it would be, who would call the unofficial strike and bring the Lord's disgraceful connivance to the notice of his Union and the Heavenly Host. The Minister of Hea-venly Labour would no doubt decline to comment until the strike was made official. The only bright cloud in the Celestial Sky would be that the Secretary of the H.T.U.C. (Heavenly Trade Union Council) would if necessary be available to assist in negotiations for a settlement.

The fact that all the men employed on the day in question had agreed individually to work for a 'Penny' would be completely overlooked by the men and Unions. Nor would the gulf between men and employer be lessened by the Lord's provocative statement, 'Am I not allowed to do what I choose with that that belongs to me?' This statement and the Lord's added remark, 'Or do you begrudge my generosity?' would be immediately attributed to a return to an old form of paternalism. The Lord had fallen into the old Capitalistic trap; He had confused generosity with justice. In an age of equality it would not be surprising that the parodox 'the first shall be last and the last shall be first', should be so generally misunderstood. It would be an incomprehensible statement. Such moralising, it would be said secretly among the Lord's friends, had no place in business.

The vexed question of Redundancy Pay—a most difficult principle to apply in Heaven—would no doubt be aired again by the Unions. Nor would the Unions agree should the Lord suggest the dispute go to arbitration, especially, if he suggested it be presided over by St. Joseph, the Patron Saint of the Workers. Unfortunately, St. Joseph would immediately be suspect among the Heavenly Workers.

SPEED SELLS CONCORDE SELLS SPEED

by Jan Herbert

SO 16 production Concordes are to be built after all. There was scarcely an alternative choice. When a Concorde leaves Boston, Massachussets, at the same time as a Boeing 747 leaves Paris and beats the 747 back to Boston by 14 minutes after a 60 minute turnaround in Paris, pessimists must scrutinise their arguments. With only half the full passenger payload complement needed to break even financially, it has been officially admitted that cancellation costs would have been greater than those of the initial production schedule.

Concorde has not reached reality easily. There have been many opponents, not least of which, it is said, have been top civil servants. On 5th May 1974 the Labour MP, Mr Terry Walker, demanded from the Minister, Mr Benn, the name of the sales 'saboteur' in his department who had tried to prevent a sales team leaving for Iran. Mr Walker told the House 'I know there are many civil servants in the Trade and Industry Department who are against Concorde. They are inadvertently helping the Americans waiting for Concorde to be killed off.' Despite criticism of Mr Benn's own allegiances, Mr Walker, his Kingswood constituency with thousands of aerospace workers next door to Mr. Benn's, paid the Minister the compliment, 'I believe Mr Benn to be the most influential friend Concorde has in the Government at the moment'. Mr Benn had been seen by many as the project's arch enemy. Finally the Shah of Persia did order two Concordes; in June discussions with President Giscard D'Estaing's new French Government confirmed the future of an initial 16 production aircraft. Concorde was permitted a further shackled half step of uncertainty towards her eventual potential. Considering that the money required to save Concorde is minimal compared to the subsidies that have been spent on coal, railways and other nationalised industries, this cautious move is welcome but not surprising. The additional £35 million needed is less than the cost of the 1p bread subsidy. Now, study of latter stages of the project are open for consideration.

The Anglo-French announcement confirming Concorde's operational debut was coolly greeted by one commentator as '16 flying overdrafts'. True, initial models, let alone prototypes, seldom manage on investment levels lower than obtainable in continuous production. According to the British Aircraft Corporation (BAC) production losses on just 16 aircraft could be £225 million but a sale of 50 would give a sum benefit to the UK balance of payments of £785 million against an expenditure of £535 million. Though this expenditure would be spent inside the UK, most of the revenue, being derived from overseas, would supplement our balance of payments. This cost is only one six hundredth of our total annual public expenditure.

In its early days, the Viscount was hailed as 'too expensive and too advanced' by BEA who preferred the Ambassador. Within two years BEA

were flying Viscounts and over 400 aircraft were eventually sold. Similarly in 1958, the Boeing 707 was more expensive than propeller driven aircraft and non-transAtlantic. A decade later, shorter travel times between London and Los Angeles gave the aircraft a positive attraction. There could have also been the V-1000 trans-Atlantic jet transport aircraft but for BAOC and Government pressures to plan on turbo-prop airlines. Cancelled just before first flight, the V-1000 was superseded by a Russian jetliner until after two years BOAC were asking for dollar loans for Boeing 707 purchases. Too late, the VC-10 proved to be yet another highly profitable aircraft. The threat facing Concorde was, or is, the fate that befell these aircraft and the TSR-2, HS.681 vertical take-off plane and the P1154 supersonic Harrier.

George Doughty, General Secretary of TASS and Chairman of the Aerospace Committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU), in a statement according Concorde status of 'the finest plane in the world', listed the spin off benefits already derived from development work. Hiduminium RRS8 is an alloy used in the A.300 airbus, Corvette missiles, helicopters, nuclear and electrical engineering, 35NDC 16 steel and stainless steel is used in the Olympus engine and is supplied to the European metallurgical industry. Other forgotten 'gifts' include Teflon, honeycomb adhesive, heat resistant paints, compound materials like Nemex, Dunlop's development of carbon brakes and Triplex hardened glass, artificial limbs and various prosphtheses, all seldom mentioned.

But despite the endless extolling of virtues, no uneconomic production could be contemplated since the Aerospace industry like any other must continue to be a profit making concern. It also demands extremely large expenditure before yielding equally large returns. Concorde represents a modest outlay in comparison to some projects undertaken.

Without allowing for one franc of French compensation, it will be cheaper to bring Concorde into service than cancel. In March 1974 the Minister of Trade and Industry put the cost of cancellation at £80 million against £115 million to complete the 16 aircraft programme. The £80 million estimate which would thus save £35 million, was said to include redundancy payments, unemployment payments and contractual costs. Bristol Civic authorities (and Filton comes under its jurisdiction), received a report from Bristol Polytechnic indicating that another £67.5 million would be lost in redundancy and unemployment pay and tax losses for the 24,000 jobs it estimates will be lost due to cancellation. The Government estimates 21,000 lost jobs. Even at £67.5 million, the Government would only be paying half of the payments; the full cost had been estimated by Trade Unions at £150 million.

Cancellation of the TSR-2 in 1965 is now reported to have cost £90 million although originally quotes were for £70 million. It is unlikely that the Concorde cancellation a decade later could be £10 million less. There is certainly no case for the 'throwing good money after bad' syndrome. George Doughty again points to yet further costs. No account has been taken of work in hand or orders placed by BAC, Rolls-Royce and the many

other subsidiary firms involved in the project. Since the workers on Concorde are mainly skilled aerospace workers, extra redundancy payments must be provided. To the income losses through redundancies must be added losses of rates and Corporation Tax. Inevitably there must be a decline in investments with many potential bankruptcies among the minor firms at present largely dependent on Concorde. Finally, any replacement project could not be visualised on a scale less than the Tristar project involving a further £650 million. All this is with no reference to French claims which has been estimated as the £480 million spent by both countries so far.

What price should be put on the 2,000 apprentices and trainees who have learnt their trades at BAC, Filton, in the Commercial Aircraft Division over the last 10 years? Or the designers and technologists now being recruited by the aerospace industry of the USA and elsewhere? If 20 per cent of the workers of Bristol are dependent on the aerospace industry and a larger part of Weybridge, Hurn and Fairford, it is not likely that these workers will return to manufacturing aluminium prefab sections for employment as happened after World War I. Neglecting to assess these factors in cancellation costs does not help to inspire further confidence in wider judgements.

If Concorde goes into commercial service immediately, long distance transit times are going to be halved. Experiences show that professional travellers are willing to pay for such service improvements. It is argued that besides drawing passengers already travelling first class in subsonic aircraft, about one third of the present second-class passenger capacity will be attracted by the shortened flight times. At present some 105 first-class passengers pass in each direction between London and New York daily. At 48 passengers a flight, this gives Concorde two economical round trips a day. Of the 150,000 second-class passengers each year, one third preferring to pay for a faster flight would add 34 further passengers to each flight giving a total of 82. But the airline companies still fervently wish Concorde did not exist. They are certainly not going to give encouragement until they see rival lines flying Concorde competitively and then they want to be assured of a regular, safe, reliable operational performance. When these requirements have been met, it is inevitable that Concorde sales must soar, each airline suddenly seeing the danger of not being able to fly supersonic aircraft. It is this spur of competition which assures success for Concorde even if initial sales make a manufacturing loss until the plane becomes indispensable.

Concorde is a marketable craft with no further development. Recent comments by some airlines expressing their interests in a plane of greater range have given rise to rumours of £40 million additional spending on research to increase fuel capacity or payload. The adaptations will cost an extra £3 million and in some cases can mean an additional 25 passengers or 170 more statute miles in range. Even at present Concorde, with a range of 4,500 nautical miles, can fly the 3,200 nautical miles from Paris to New York, hold for 30 minutes over New York and then divert to Washington.

If Concorde were cancelled with no possibility of even a new subsonic

civil venture coming along in time to take its place, the British Aerospace Industry would inevitably be broken up. An industry which has taken 60 years to build would be handing over its lead to French and German rivals after being second only to the USA in recent years. The costs are high in the aerospace industry but so are the returns. It is also desirable to have the constant impetus for innovation fostered in some hundreds of specialist firms involved in the project. In the past, exports for this industry have been a useful £520 million per year but half of this sum has been for second-hand aircraft and spare parts. The industry cannot rely on the sale of military aircraft alone. Concorde would boost this source of foreign income at a time when other articles of exchange are becoming more difficult to produce.

A final decision about the aircraft has done more than simply provide 16 more planes to be absorbed on the international air routes. It has ended a period of damaging uncertainty. As Eldon Griffiths, MP, the Opposition Spokesman for Trade and Industry, stated, 'The thing is to get it into service so that it can prove itself in action . . . Meanwhile it damages the sales prospects and saps the efforts of all concerned in the project to drag out the uncertainty.' Further assurances are now needed. Meanwhile the makers of Concorde continue to sign off their information releases with the message they believe will eventually guarantee the plane as a boom financial proposition. 'Speed Sells Concorde Sells Speed Sells Concorde Sells Speed.'

THE COW

by Mary Inglis

OLD *Kehla* stood by the railway line. He had waited many months for this—months of slow and fumbling carving; of mistakes, restarts, and feeling, always feeling, with his increasingly sensitive fingers, to produce the small wooden figure of a cow which he now held in his hand. And at last the time had come. The train would be here at any moment.

The *umfaan* next to him suddenly grabbed his hand. 'It comes, *Kehla!* It comes!' he cried. *Kehla's* heart beat faster. He hoped he would be able to sell his figure. He might have some difficulty not being able to see, but he had been through the procedure so many times with the *piccanins* that he was sure he could manage.

He could hear the train now, and feel the nearing movement of it in the ground under his feet. In a few moments it had stopped, and all around him he could hear the shouts and cries of the *piccanins*. He stood for a moment, uncertain.

'What have you got there, old man?' The voice came from above him, reassuring him with its curiosity. He held up his figure.

'A cow, missus.'

'How much is it?'

'Twenty-five cents.' He had decided on that last night, when he had finally finished it.

'Let me see.' He felt his figure being taken from his hand, and he let his arm drop to his side. He waited, standing immobile in the hot sun. But deep within him something living was moving, alive and growing in the intensity of expectation.

It was similar to how he used to feel in the times before his son came home on his visits from the Big City where he had gone to work when he could not get work at home and he had to have money to pay the tax. The message of his coming would arrive and the thing in *Kehla* would grow, surging up and round and over him as the weeks passed till Walter arrived. His son was a man indeed, working in the Big City, and when he came home in his city clothes there was great joy. A goat would be killed and there would be much eating and drinking. Often they were hungry in the time that followed—but Walter was not often home and he was a good man, even at first sending money from the Big City. But that was a long time ago. He did not come home now.

Word of him had come only once, from the husband of a woman in the kraal, visiting long months after the time of Walter's coming had passed without his arrival. The words had told strange tales for *Kehla*, tales of stumbling and slipping, of drinking not for rejoicing, of his son grown like an animal of the night, scavenging in stealth in forbidden places.

At the telling *Kehla* had remembered, unbidden, a time when Walter, learning his manhood, had stood naked in the rain, arms outstretched to the living veld and sky, shouting his jubilation to the wind. He had wept for that

time and for that man. But that too was a long time ago. He did not weep now.

At the head of the train the engine whistled. Above him the voice spoke again, shrill now, and biting.

'Old man, *this* isn't a cow! Go home and make something properly before you try to sell it. Really, these people will try anything; you have to be so careful.' And the voice faded and merged with others above him. Something fell with a dull thud at his feet. The train began to move.

Kehla stood there, immobile still. But now the movement inside him had stopped too. His cow, his beloved cow, had not been sold. He bent to pick it up, fumbling on the ground with his hands until he had found it. Around him he could hear the jangling of coins and the shouts of the *piccanins*. But he had no coins. He had not sold his cow.

An *umfaan* came up to him.

'Shall I take you back, *Kehla?*' he asked. 'Oh! You have not sold your cow.'

'No, I have not sold my cow. I will wait here for a little while. Come and fetch me later.'

Soon the shouts and cries of the *piccanins* had gone, and *Kehla* stood there alone. The sun seemed hotter now. He should have gone back with the *umfaan*. He called, hoping that there was still someone near, but he got no reply. He started walking, placing one foot cautiously in front of the other, in the way of the blind.

His cow was still in his hand. He would not sell it now. He would never sell anything, for he was an old man, and he did not have time to make another cow.

But as he walked, the living thing inside him began to stir again. His cow —he would give it to his son's wife. She was a good woman: she did not go out in the fields with other men like so many wives whose husbands had not returned from the Big City. She looked after *Kehla*; getting his food, cleaning his hut, helping him with his blindness. And for five months she had shared his feeling for his cow, helping, encouraging, admiring. The thing inside him leapt and laughed, hearing her disappointment that he had not sold it, and then her delight when, after the proper length of time, he gave it to her. He was glad he had not sold it.

He walked on. He could hear the sounds of the kraal in front of him now. He was nearly there. The sun was hot, and he would be glad of some shade.

GLOSSARY

Kehla—old man (African).
Umfaan, Piccanin—young boy.
Kraal—African village.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THE EMERGENCE OF ENGLISH PROVINCIAL ART

The Rise of English Provincial Art, 1800-1830. Trevor Fawcett. Oxford University Press. £7.50.

John Landseer, the engraver and father of Sir Edwin Landseer, writing in 1808, described the position of the fine arts in this country as 'copious fountains both of commercial prosperity and public happiness . . . (which) not only irrigate and enrich the fields of national opulence, but fertilise the still fairer fields of national virtue'. Such sentiments, exaggerated as they may seem, represent a new feeling towards Art which was growing up in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was particularly strong among the middle classes and in the new centres of commercial affluence. New patrons like Dawson Turner of Yarmouth, who bought from Crome and employed Cotman as a drawing master, Sir John Leicester in the Manchester area and Sir John Gladstone, the father of William Ewart Gladstone, at Liverpool brought fresh impetus into collecting, both in the field of old master pictures and contemporary artists. A major change took place between 1800, when London and Dublin alone had recognised art institutions, and 1830, when a multiplicity of activity was taking place in the major cities and also in smaller places like Carlisle and Gloucester. This development, which was widely spread throughout the country, is the subject for Mr. Fawcett's book.

As a study of a comparatively unknown field, this was originally prepared as a university thesis and it still bears some of the marks of this. There is an over-abundance of footnotes, which get in the way of the text (why, for example, does the author bother to tell us exactly in which chapter of ***Pride and Prejudice*** a particular remark of Lady Catherine de Burgh's appears?). The illustrations, though interesting, are not sufficiently correlated with the text and Mr. Fawcett finds it difficult sometimes to deal concisely with the vast amount of primary material, much of it from contemporary local newspaper reports, that he has unearthed. Having said this, it is a remarkable achievement, which will serve both as a source book for the position of the artist in provincial England at this period and as a balanced analysis of the connexion between the metropolis and provincial centres at this time.

It is a pity, in some ways, that Mr. Fawcett has limited himself to such a precise period, since there were continuing developments in various localities until a much later date. The Ipswich School, for instance, which contained such figures as the Smythes, Burrowes, Moore, Todd and Duvall and was therefore one of the most important groups of painters to be produced by a provincial centre, did not come into prominence until the 1870s. The era which he has chosen, though restricted is, however, a most important one and contained fundamental developments in a number of different ways. The long-held belief that, outside London, Norwich was the only centre of any artistic excellence in England until a late date, simply cannot any longer be supported.

Mr. Fawcett has given his researches meaning by setting out the situation of the provincial artists against their economic background. He quotes from John Eagles, an unsuccessful Bristol painter who became a clergyman, who summarised the position savagely in 1826:

'Painters are of the earth beneath,
Have given them with their genius, teeth,
Stomachs that hunger, thirst and faint,
Stomachs for other things than paint.'

Although there were increased openings for the local man with talent, there were to be continuous controversies between the enthusiasms of the gentry and the amateurs and the needs of professional painters and between the demand for exhibitions of old master pictures and the ambitions of living artists to show their work. It is interesting to note, in this regard, that even by the 1830s there were few if any opportunities for the public to see permanent collections of paintings outside London except by obtaining cards of admission for the great houses like Holkham or Harewood or at the occasional special exhibitions which were organised in different parts of the country.

He deals extremely well with the tradition of scene painting in the provincial theatres, in which even the great John Constable found himself employed and with the variety of other openings which artists and designers could find for themselves. He does not deal with the painters on pottery and porcelain, like Billingsley and Moses Webster of Derby, though, in any case, these were a separate group. This is, otherwise, a very complete and interesting account of a subject which has been comparatively little covered and which has certainly repaid the research which he has lavished upon it.

ERNLE MONEY

A VICTORIAN SHELLEY

The Book, the Ring, and the Poet: A Biography of Robert Browning. William Irvine and Park Honan. Bodley Head. £6.

To be a poet like Byron, only pious. That was one of the possibilities the Ruskin parents envisaged for their precocious child, a somewhat tall order which no one will blame the adult Ruskin for failing to fulfil. To be a Victorian Shelley might seem at first glance to be as impossible of achievement, but this new biography of Browning makes it clear how very far the poet of *The Ring and the Book* went to realise his early ideal, how in an age of great novels Browning managed to achieve much of the Shelleyan poetic fire, with something distinctive of his own added to it.

The great romantic period of poetry, from Burns and Blake and the early Wordsworth to Byron, Shelley and Keats, was rather hard on its immediate successors, as the post-Elizabethans found it difficult to maintain the impetus of the Shakespearean age in a very different intellectual and social climate. Browning always thought Shelley 'a great dramatist' as well as a great poet, 'almost as great as Shakespeare' in both capacities. But Shelley was probably too subjective a writer ever to have attained anything like Shakespearean stature in the drama. The even more subjective Browning, after some promising ventures into stage drama with *Strafford* and its successors — I imagine a Shakespeare in Browning's position would have ignored Strafford and written the tragedy of Charles the First — Browning found his true *métier*, and his true genius, in the dramatic monologue, where under various Renaissance and other disguises he could be as autobiographical — and as impressionistic — as he wished. 'One cannot find one's subjects in the mirror without some sacrifice of variety', comment Irvine and Honan on the early work. It was by making a virtue out of these very limitations that the mature Browning, 'the poet of soliloquy' as Santayana called him, came to write his best and most memorable poems.

'The Shelley of Shelley's poems', rather than the Shelley of real life, came to be Browning's mature inspiration, as this biography rightly insists. He had, of course, a closer inspiration. 'Browning's greatest exploit was his own romance'. Few readers will quarrel with that assessment. From Robert's first letters to the invalid Elizabeth — 'I love your verses . . . and I love you too' — to the portrayal of the heroine Pompilia in *The Ring and the Book,* Browning's muse was as evidently his wife as Dante's was Beatrice, a comparison the widowed poet in later life did not hesitate to make. If there is indeed a life after death, he wrote in 1877, there 'that lady lives of whom enamoured was my soul.'

When the enthusiastic Dr. Furnivall founded the Browning Society, the poet, however, was rather amused. He may have agreed with Santayana — and with Max Beerbohm — more than has been generally realised. Chesterton answered some of Santayana's criticisms, and since Chesterton the accent has rightly fallen on the poet rather than the philosopher. The present book, as witty as it is erudite, comes perhaps nearer than any of its predecessors in giving us a Browning for the mid-twentieth century, a Victorian poet whose stream-of-consciousness technique has influenced the modern novel as much as his impressionism has influenced Ezra Pound, the Imagist poets, and their successors. The late William Irvine, Professor of English at Stanford, wrote the majority of this volume. It has been admirably completed by his friend Park Honan, Reader in English Literature at Birmingham University. One would hardly suspect it was the work of two men, so excellently — and so in the spirit of the two Brownings themselves — has the work been done.

R. C. CHURCHILL

JEWS AND LONDON'S EAST END

East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914. William J. Fishman. Duckworth. £6.50.
Point of Arrival. Chaim Bermant. Eyre Methuen. £5.

To the traditionally anti-Semitic Tsars, the prime deficit in the balance-sheet of territorial acquisition was the influx of Jews consequent upon the Imperial predator's dismemberment of Poland in 1772. For the Jewish population, the partition of Poland initiated an era of persecution which, until its supersession by the Hitlerian holocaust, was to stand unrivalled in the annals of Jewish martyrology.

Throughout the reign of Nicholas I, a succession of xenophobic ukases and schemes implemented to de-Judaise Russia inflicted severe suffering upon the defenceless victims of an antagonistic autocracy. Neither did conditions ameliorate with the accession of Alexander II. By the 1870s, the wandering Russo-Polish Jew, disillusioned in regard to the policies of the 'liberating' All-Highest, was no stranger in East London, an area already partially colonised by previous contingents of Dutch Jews. But it was between April 1881 and June 1882, following the assassination of Alexander II by the Nihilist group, *Narodnaya Volya,* in March 1881, that the first mass exodus from the land of bondage took place, and for many of the 225,000 Jewish families who fled the pogroms, England was the land of promise.

The promise was scarcely fulfilled. The immigrants found themselves, beyond the Pale, unwelcome strangers in a strange land. In his scholarly and inspirational study, Dr. William J. Fishman records the struggles and misfortunes, the small and pathetic triumphs, which attended the immigrant hordes of the Eternal People. They came with faith and hope, but found scant charity. Their portion was exploitation. Menial labour in the sweat shops. Who should blame

them if, by the waters of the Thames, they sat down and wept? But, characteristically, they did not. Rallied by a remarkable man, Aron Lieberman, one of the radical intelligentsia, refugee from the Tsarist secret police, they had already banded together in 1875 to form the first Hebrew Socialist Union.

Established Anglo-Jewry, poised upon the brink of social acceptance, grown solid upon the dividends of shrewd entrepreneuralism, looked out with nervous hostility from the windows of their synagogues across the hard-won bastions of their orthodox 'embourgeoisement'. They dispensed a steady trickle of grudging help to their co-religionists, while striving to dam the 'alien pauper' stream.

For the impoverished indigent Christians, a major pressure gauge for anti-alienism was the current peak state of unemployment. Bennett Burleigh, writing an article, 'The Unemployed', in the *Contemporary Review* in December 1887, observed: 'Since 1883, during each recurring winter in London and other large towns, people have become familiarised with what is known as the "unemployed agitation". Is it a genuinely political agitation? My answer is: Quite as much so as any political movement.' And, without doubt, the Jews were thrust into their accustomed rôle as scapegoat. Vested interest wielded its assorted cudgels. Political demagogues flew the anti-alien (i.e. anti-Jewish) kite. Restrictionists and Exclusionists fulminated in frantic spate. Opportunists seized eagerly upon the anti-alien ticket. Even the Jack the Ripper murders of 1888 were laid at the door of the Jews. He became Jacob the Ripper. And the trade unionists—brotherhood of the working class 'notwithstanding race or creed'—seemed determined to exclude their Jewish brethren from the shelter of their banners.

It was left to a brave little band of *Jewish* socialists to fight the good fight in what morsels of time they could salvage from the long hours of remorseless foraging for bread. Their names—Lieberman, Morris Winchevsky, Woolf Wess, and Rudolf Rocker, the charismatic German goy—run like a litany, or socialist hagiography, through Dr. Fishman's book. They are the Alien Apostles and Radical Prophets, the Libertarian *Arbeter Frainters,* and the mosaic of their activism forms the pattern of the book.

Sadly, there came a time of fragmentation. The Great Schism—with the 'propaganda by deed' Anarchists upsetting the tumbrel. The Tottenham outrage of 1909, the Houndsditch murders of 1910, and the Siege of Sidney Street in 1911, all had their genesis in the ideologically motivated activities of extremist expropriators who had little in common with the gentle Anarchists who dreamt great dreams of universal freedom in Jubilee Street.

It was Britain's declaration of war on Germany in 1914 that dealt the death-blow to the East End's ascendant Anarchism. Conflicting attitudes to the war splintered the Anarchist leadership, and the rank and file re-grouped to form insignificant, ideologically squabbling factions. These subsequently faltered, split again, and finally polarised around the triple magnets of Zionism, Orthodoxy and Bolshevism. The old conditions vanished in the gun smoke of the Great War.

But the *Arbeter Frainters* had made a vital contribution. They had restored to Jews, debased by Tsarist barbarism, dignity and self-respect. Well may Dr. Fishman write: 'As long as there is one cobbled alley, one undeserted tenement left, which recalls the voices and images of the *chaverim,* I still walk with my father.'

Chaim Bermant's book carries the story both forwards and backwards. *Point of Arrival* is, as it were, a scenario. It traces the history of London's East End from its bucolic idyll beginning—garden suburb of the twelfth century—through successive waves of immigrant invasion *angst*—Flemings, Huguenots, Irish,

Jewish and Pakistani. It presents the grand canvas, a prescribed corner of which Dr. Fishman's book elaborates in fine drawn detail. Of necessity, Mr. Bermant covers some of the same ground as Dr. Fishman, but, since they are viewing the territory from quite different standpoints, the duplication is minimal. For Dr. Fishman the East End is an ideological battleground. For Mr. Bermant it is not so much a geographical location as a state of mind.

The Huguenots—the 'Profitable Strangers'—arrive in the seventeenth century, industriously weave their way into the fabric of Spitalfields, then, causing no trouble, fade quietly away. They are followed by the Irish—the 'Troublesome Strangers'—flooding in after the Potato Famine of 1846, hard-drinking, hard-fighting, tumultuous and prolific. And then, the Jews—the 'Perfect Strangers'. Perfect, in this context, implying totality rather than any quality of excellence.

Throughout these dark passages of social—not socialist—history buzz the four busy Bs of reform—Barnett, Booth, Barnardo and Burdett-Coutts. The do-gooders. There are, of course, the do-badders, too. The persecutors. The Judophobes. The British Brothers' League and their spiritual sons, the Mosley-ite British Union of Fascists, both of whose target was the Jews and, four decades later, the skinhead Paki-bashers.

Mr. Bermant is particularly interesting on the subject of the Pakistanis—the 'Gentle Strangers'—who have become the latest immigrant victims of what a perceptive Jewish writer has called 'an inherent dislike of the unlike.'

If, as the Francophile assures us, the scent of Paris is a subtle blend of flowers, garlic, caporal and that rich French dust that smells so lyrically of itself, then there is surely, too, an authentic aroma of the old East End. You will find it rising from Mr. Bermant's pages. It is compounded of the sweat shop reek of sewing-machine oil, the acrid wisps of ritual candle smoke, the spicy tang of fish—soused, pickled, salted, marinated, the whiff of borscht, of black Russian Ryes, of bagels, cholas and matzos. And, over all, the sour stench of poverty that smells so unlyrically of itself.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

THE COMANCHE INDIANS

Comanches: the Destruction of a People. T. R. Fehrenbach. Allen and Unwin. £5.25.

There was little serious study of the Comanches till the 1930s, yet this race of North American Indians made an impact on history out of all proportion to their numbers which at no time exceeded a few thousands. For centuries they eked out a bare subsistence in the Wyoming area; with the introduction of the mustang into America by the Spanish a complete transformation took place in the Comanches' way of life. Before the seventeenth century was out they had acquired more horses and superior horse knowledge than any other people; their skill in horsemanship gave them a sense of power and led to their migration to the bison plains of Texas which became their home till their final destruction in the 1870s.

They literally rode into history, and but for their ferocious fighting qualities the political development of North America could have been cast in a very different mould. They were an impenetrable barrier to Spanish efforts to expand northwards through Texas, they thwarted the French advance into the south-west, and they held up the American conquest of the continent for almost 60 years. The buffalo of the Texas grasslands supplied the Comanches with all the food they required and the horses gave them power and speed; so with time on their hands their lives became increasingly involved in the pursuit of war. They attacked remorselessly all who dared to settle on what they regarded as their

domain, violence, scalpings, rape, and the torture of prisoners being the ingredients of each attack.

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 brought the USA frontier alongside Texas which at that time was officially Spanish but completely dominated by Comanches. Settlement of Americans in Texas began in 1821; one year after, Mexico became an indepenedent republic but neglected her northern territory of Texas. The whites, however, began clearing the wilderness, building houses and towns to the dismay of the Comanches who feared for their precious hunting grounds. They started brutal attacks on the whites' settlements and the ghastly slaughter at Parker's Fort in 1836 marked the beginning of the bloodiest war between Americans and any single Amerindian people. The Republic of Texas, founded in 1835, now formed the Texas Rangers, a semi-permanent band of irregulars to deal with the Comanche problem, and the raidings did stop until Houston dissolved the Rangers, adopting a new policy. With the annexation of Texas into the USA it was anticipated that the federal army would quickly clean up the mess in Texas; yet the raids with their trail of blood continued for another 30 years.

Many Americans, especially those living in the east and far removed from the Indian frontier, tended to idealise the Indians as noble savages, and such foolish sentimentality affected official policy. Most frontiersmen nurtured a profound hatred for Indians, and with good reasons. This dichotomy between western and eastern views paralysed American Indian policy for many years. With the seizure of the Pacific coast and the gold rush of '49 the Comanches were enclosed within an American empire and 'it was only a question of time before their cultural death warrant would be executed.' The era of the Comanches' triumph was drawing to a close, accelerated by the expanding Texas ranching industry, the inexorable pressure of the army, and the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo by the hide hunters. There was one last desperate Comanche rising in 1874 which failed miserably. The Comanches would now have to learn to adjust to a modern society and to labour for economic gain; gone were the days when they revelled in the hot thrill of the chase, taking orders from no man, living as they pleased across the land. They had remained defiant to the end, fighting to defend their way of life, the only kind of life they had known for countless generations.

The author's treatment of his subject is thorough, imaginative, and scholarly, the book nevertheless abounding with exciting incidents although the main theme is always kept in sight, namely, the inevitable subjection and assimilation of a primitive race to the advancing tide of civilisation.

S. F. WOOLLEY

AUGUSTUS JOHN: THE CONCLUDING VOLUME

Augustus John. Volume 2: The Years of Experience. Michael Holroyd. Heinemann. £5.25.

In this, his second and concluding volume, Michael Holroyd finishes his portrait of Augustus John. He draws together the various threads of John's life up to 1911, outlined in the first volume, and shows how John the artist and the man coped with the fame his work and reputation earned him. After the First World War, John moved in the artistic and intellectual circles which included Yeats, Lawrence of Arabia and George Bernard Shaw (whose biography Mr Holroyd is now writing). Likewise John was commissioned to paint various leading politicians in the 1920s. With Arthur Balfour, Tory Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905, he was reasonably successful, whilst with Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald he (and they, too) felt he had failed in his purpose. After

the Second World War the same occurred with Churchill. With W. B. Yeats he was more successful and he painted what was in the event the last portrait of the Irish poet. He did three portraits of Shaw but perhaps his most arresting work was a drawing now in the National Portrait Gallery of T. E. Lawrence in Arabic dress.

John first met Lawrence when they were both at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, John to paint and Lawrence to advise Arabic leaders in their struggle to achieve cultural and political sovereignty. They had similar personalities and to many both were 'poseurs'. They must have admired each other for his 'bravado' and they sympathised with each other's weaknesses. On a rather different plane, John was invited to paint the Queen Mother just before the Second World War. Unfortunately the picture was never finished despite the extraordinary lengths to which the Palace and the Queen herself went. Besides a small orchestra and a secret supply of liquor there was the moral encouragement of the Queen herself. But John had never conquered his shyness and he had learned that alcohol could provide the needed stimulus to break through his shyness, indecision and fear of the consequences which would inevitably arise from his actually doing something to the finish. (It is pleasant to know that the unfinished portrait was finally presented to the Queen Mother in 1961.)

In spite of the fame which surrounded John after the First World War, he was in many ways less an artist after 1919 than before. He is recorded as saying, when war was declared in 1914, that 'This is going to be bad for art.' It was, but it was also bad for artists like himself. To a large extent the pre-war radical artist became in the 1920s and 1930s the Establishment portrait-painter.

In this second volume, as in the first, the author is distinguished by the wealth of research which obviously went into his preparation. His style is always lucid and he weaves together the multitude of sources which were consulted in an admirable manner. The book, besides presenting a careful and sympathetic picture of Augustus John, gives the reader an insight into the intellectual and cultural world of the 1920-1939 period. If there are any criticisms which could be made they are that the two volumes could, perhaps, have been published as one with some omissions. Secondly, one wishes that there could have been more examples of the pictures to which reference is made in the text although one knows that a volume of John's works was published last year. But these are minor criticisms and the second volume, like the first, will stand as a credit both to John and to the author.

J. E. B. MUNSON

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Permissive Britain (Pitman. £3.25). In this thoughtful sociological study, Mr. Christie Davies is concerned with 'social change in the sixties and seventies', in particular with the emergence of the permissive society. He analyses in turn the question of censorship, the changes in sexual behaviour and attitudes, the acceptance legally and socially of homosexual behaviour in private, and the incidence of drugs and drug addiction, including alcoholism. He devotes one chapter to the methods of the Synanon Community in California in treating drug addicts. Fundamental to his general argument is 'a shift of moral attitudes from "moralism" to "causalism".' Parliament and the articulate public are now more concerned with the harmful consequences of behaviour to the participants and the community than with the old conventional standards of right and wrong, morality and social obligations, in promoting legislation. Like

many people, Mr. Davies approves and disapproves. 'I accept the social and legal manifestations of the permissive society but I reject the general ethos of the society. . . . We have gained in tolerance, in compassion and in freedom, but not because of our belief in these values. We are tolerant not as a matter of principle but as an expression of moral indifference'. There are no strong moral demands on the individual, no concept of duty, no knowledge of how to use our freedom. 'The "morality of excellence" is now lacking.' He argues that 'we do not know how to reward virtue or excellence — indeed it is doubtful if we can any longer say which activities or persons are meritorious in this sense'. Is this a passing phase? Is it much deeper in our society? As to the future, Mr. Davies is not prophetic, although he probably regards a national revival of purpose as essential for a healthy society.

China Now (Longman. Hardback, £6.50; Paperback, £3.95). The aim of this ambitious book is 'to review the basic aspects of the development of modern China in a simplified manner' under the editorship of the geographer, Professor D. J. Dwyer. The volume is divided into two main sections. There is a short historical geographical economic-social survey in 58 pages by the Editor. Then 378 pages of text consist of 'readings', namely extracts from books and articles by a number of experts. These include eight 'readings' on the pre-communist period and fifteen on the communist era. They are concerned with a wide variety of political, economic and social questions and developments, the agricultural revolution being prominent. The dates of these 'readings' range from 1961 until 1972. Unfortunately there is nothing more recent in the volume except the editor's survey which to some extent brings together the specialised studies and is very useful. It is a valuable if rather complicated publication, which contains a mass of background material.

Everyman's University Paperbacks (Dent). Three recent additions to this series will be welcomed. *Chaucer, Canterbury Tales* (£1.25, or hardback at £2.50) was first published in this edition in 1958. It is now reprinted, with revisions. It is edited by Professor A. C. Cawley who has produced a complete and unabridged edition, not modernised, and based upon the Ellesmere manuscript. The text is annotated with footnotes and marginal glosses where essential. Professor Cawley stresses the value of keeping to Chaucer's own words with the minimum of explanation. After a while the reader can absorb the full flavour of the stories without extrinsic help. *Silver Poets of the Seventeenth Century* (£1.25, or hardback at £2.95) is an anthology, selected with an Introduction by G. A. E. Parfitt, of poems by Vaughan, Crashaw, Waller, Denham and Cowley. Mr. Parfitt has chosen these five because 'none of them is available in bulk in annotated and reasonably inexpensive form'. Furthermore, 'another reason for choosing the three secular poets that have been included is that their kind of poetry has been neglected for too long'. *English Poetry 1700-1780* (£1.65, or hardback at £3.25) edited by David W. Lindsay, is intended to present a representative poem by each of twenty-one poets not greatly read. They include in this collection John Pomfret, Isaac Watts, Ambrose Philips, John Gay, Matthew Prior, Charles Churchill, Christopher Smart, John Dyer, Richard Savage, John Byrom, James Macpherson, Mark Akenside, and Thomas Chatterton. Mr. Lindsay has also included a useful Introduction on poetry during this period.

1975

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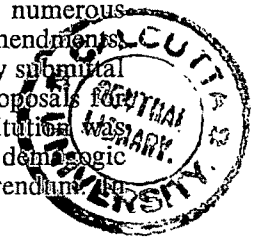
BRITAIN LEARNS THE SWISS LESSON: THE REFERENDUM

by Christopher Hughes

OF the many lessons which this country can learn from Switzerland, at least the most obviously topical is that country's long experience of the various devices which we refer to in English collectively as 'the Referendum.'

The modern-style referendum came to Switzerland in 1798, on the pillion saddle of the French Revolution, and the short-lived Constitution of 1802 was submitted to a vote of qualified electors: the result was fudged, in that non-voters on the electoral roll were counted, by a canny but necessary provision, as having voted in favour. This is the Constitutional Referendum, accepted nearly everywhere today, whereby a new Constitution or a revision of an old constitution is submitted to a plebiscite. From this root, commonplace enough, the modern institution has expanded. The word itself, however, is derived from an older Swiss institution, the taking back of proposals by delegates to their constituents for ratification, *ad referendum et instruendum*, for referral back and instruction, a gerund and not a gerundive, therefore with the plural *referendums* in English.

In the period 1813-1848 the Swiss cantons retained the show of sovereignty, and every canton gave itself a written constitution. The typical cantonal history shows an authoritative and rather aristocratic government down to 1830, and then a liberal usurpation within the cantons, and a new constitution cut to the liberals' measure accepted at referendum by an overwhelming majority. This was often superseded by a conservative or a left-wing liberal ('radical') constitution. Each time and everywhere the voters obliged by their applause—voting was usually public and supervised. Some time around, or after, 1848, the referendum on the cantonal level settled down to being a genuinely democratic device. It received numerous extensions, a possibility of popular initiative of constitutional amendments, a possibility of popular challenge of laws, and ofter a compulsory submittal of laws as well as amendments of the constitution to a vote. Proposals for expenditure also became submitted to referendum, and the institution was spread downwards to the level of the parish (commune). Many a demagogic political career was founded on a proposal to extend the referendum in



the 1840s the dangerous discovery was made that the common people were more conservative than their betters, and this led to the conservatives within the cantons making the device of referendum their instrument to regain power, temporarily in protestant cantons, permanently in many catholic cantons.

The institution also spread upwards to the Swiss Federal level. To cut the story short, by 1891 there was a Federal referendum (compulsory) for amendments to the constitution. There was also a possibility of initiating such an amendment by a petition with a certain, relatively low, number of qualified signatures (the popular constitutional initiative), and of challenging a Law passed by the central parliament to a referendum, by a petition bearing a certain, lower, number of signatures. In the 1920s, the procedure was adopted for challenging treaties before ratification. Without actual constitutional basis, the proposal to join the League of Nations was submitted to a referendum of the 'constitutional amendment' type, and recently (1974) the proposal to ratify a treaty made with the EEC was submitted similarly to this type of 'constitutional amendment' referendum (on the proposition of the executive cabinet, the Federal Council). In both cases, the referendum resulted in acceptance. It seems likely that the constitution will soon be altered so as to make this type of referendum lawful, and obligatory. The thinking behind this is that neutrality is so much anchored in Swiss foreign relations that the Constitution should be read as if neutrality were imposed by it, and therefore treaties of a certain sort should be treated as if they were amendments to the constitution.

What has been the lesson of the referendum on the central government level?

The most obvious is the direct negative, and therefore conservative, effect. There is a considerable Swiss cultural and legislative lag. Many things, including many things Switzerland does well, came surprisingly late to Switzerland. To a large extent the reason for this delay is institutional; Switzerland has long been democratic, and the referendum is one aspect of this democraticness. Woman's vote, student unrest, the motor car, the railway, and further back, even banks, insurance, cuckoo clocks and chocolate were not pioneered by the Swiss, but taken over fully proved from elsewhere: in this lag, democracy is among the causes. In modern times one can instance various aspects of social and medical pseudo-insurance as fields where Switzerland was specifically delayed because of the institutions of referendum. One must note, of course, that the delay has left no harmful traces, indeed, it is beneficial in that reforms have not outpaced their economic infrastructure. The negative, conservative (and, on a long view, probably beneficial) effect is twofold—an additional complexity giving an extra 'chance' of shipwreck for an innovation, and the actual effect of rather a conservative climate of opinion among the common people — whose opinions are seldom regarded under a parliamentary government.

But this has by no means been the most significant effect. The institution of the referendum over the years has profoundly modified other institutions.

Federalism has been protected by the referendum (and so have the two religions and three languages which shelter behind Swiss Federalism). Proportionality in legislature and executive has been created by the referendum, by the need to buy-off obstructive elements by institutional reform. Above all, the great pressure groups which dominate public life in Switzerland have been created by the need to possess organisations capable of fighting referendums. To launch a referendum (i.e. to initiate a constitutional amendment as well as to oppose a statute by challenging it to a referendum) is expensive. The referendum campaign is a battle of giant pressure groups rather than of individuals, and newspapers and political parties are swept into the battle by the great, self-appointed, oligarchies that have the money and the membership to wage referendum campaigns. It is this structure of great vested interests called forth by the referendum which has affected the standing of parliament, rather than the removal from the Swiss parliament of the final power of decision. The press, and the political parties, play their part in creating public opinion for referendums.

A Swiss constitutional lawyer would classify referendums according to their constitutional function, but from our point of view this is uninteresting. As regards their subject-matter, this is as varied as the diverse interest groups are. Just as associations may have ideal or material purposes, so may referendums, and at some stage in a particular campaign the two aims will certainly overlap. The idea, the liberty to choose a doctor and the liberty for a doctor to act according to a professional ethic may (for example) give universal appeal to a campaign by unqualified practitioners to ditch an incipient health service. Similarly, a campaign launched from high-minded motives will need to enlist the support of definite commercial interests in the narrowest sense in order to obtain funds and display that fighting spirit which alone can organise a referendum petition and obtain final victory. Very often the threat of a referendum will extort certain concessions, but one's legislative opponent will also have anticipated such a threat, and have so planned his project that it has a good chance of victory if challenged to the ordeal of the votation of the sovereign people. Indeed, on the cantonal level a referendum is often a 'matter of course' on most laws.

One must add: the Swiss vote often, and contrive to do so with little dislocation of their daily life and without very much fuss about counting of votes or expense. Sensibly, in the same booth they vote on a great diversity of undertakings; elections, parochial, provincial and central government matters are dealt with in half a minute on a Sunday morning before buying a railway ticket and setting out for a country expedition. In a year the Swiss adult will very likely have gone to the polls more often, and certainly have voted on a greater diversity of objects, than a Free Briton in a lifetime.

What we are interested in, in Britain, is the application of the Swiss referendum to British affairs, at first applied to Ulster and the EEC, and then as an abiding institution of government.

On the whole, the first advice to governments must be 'If the answer

"no" would be a national disaster, you have no right to submit the question to a referendum.' There are issues, 'issues of conscience,' introduction of the death penalty, making blood sports a criminal offence, permitting muggings by pickets, applying sanctions to foreign countries which are too remote to matter. These are topics where a moral decision by parliament is morally rather meaningless, and where a referendum could do nothing but good. There are larger questions, decimal currency, coloured immigration, race relations, development aid, where the moral argument points to a referendum, but where the unprogressive nature of public opinion was so well known that submission to referendum would invite certain rebuff. An extension of these would be complicated issues like the Foulness Airport and the Channel Tunnel, where public opinion is genuinely unpredictable. Paradoxically, the case for a referendum on very important issues, like the EEC, is rather weaker than on minor issues, the right to commit suicide is less absolute than the right to bite one's lips or slap one's knee. The sovereignty of parliament is not in issue at all, the sovereignty of parliament is a rhetorical phrase to describe the moral source of the executive power of the cabinet and the cabinet's complete control of the legislative and budgetary process. It is the responsibility of the cabinet to the nation which is at issue. Either the nation has the moral right to make important decisions itself, or it has no moral right to do so. We are between two different sorts of political discourse, direct and indirect democracy. The Swiss are not, and unaffectedly refer to the qualified voters as 'the sovereign.'

The decision to submit membership of the EEC to a 'compulsory' referendum would, I think, be unconstitutional in Switzerland, which is by no means to say that it would not be done, for the Swiss constitution is treated very cavalierly on occasion. Neither the British, one-party, cabinet, nor the British, majority party controlled, parliament has any Swiss parallel. Swiss experience suggests that the introduction of the referendum as an institution follows (with a time lag) from the use of the referendum for tactical purposes. It also suggests that the ultimate effect of the referendum as an institution on other institutions is to alter their nature fairly profoundly, so that one finishes up with a proportionally representational parliament, a coalition executive, and very powerful pressure groups—especially on the Right. The logic of the referendum, after all, suggests that the power of launching it should not be a discretionary one in the hands of the Prime Minister, but should be a mandate from the public. If authority descends from above, then the referendum negates this. If authority wells up from below, then the machinery of government will alter to accommodate this principle.

The lesson of Switzerland need only be learned by us if it is agreed that Switzerland is happier and richer than Britain. If it is so agreed, and a rather good case can be made, then it is not a case of being willing to copy this device and that, it is a case of taking all those institutions which in the English language we lump together under the word 'referendum', and then letting the logic of the institution work itself through other institutions, parliament, parties, cabinet, local government, and accepting also the

consequences for the tone of society, an increasing *embourgeoisement*, for example. Twenty years of weak government have made the people of our country more ready to see the British Constitution transformed than they were before. The choice is between Gaullism or what one might call Helvetianism as models, with side glances at Greece and Sweden, Italy, Portugal and Czechoslovakia as models to be avoided.

But these ultimate effects, the working out of the implicit logic of the referendum, would lie in the future, and might take two dozen years to work themselves through our system. An immediate, beneficial, effect would be to alter the nature of pressure groups. Our economic masters, the Trades Unions, would find that they were brought by the referendum within the pale of the constitution: no longer would they be all-powerful but they would have a precisely quantifiable power, to be estimated, possibly, as between a quarter and a third of the voting public. Their opposite numbers, the 'umbrella organisations' of management and finance, with their direct appeal to consumers and their intelligence and rationality—and their financial power—would probably find their influence at almost exactly the same figure in terms of voters actually voting.

The institution in Britain of the referendum on the Swiss scheme (which I take it is now inevitable) will effect a great alteration in our legislative process. About a quarter (or perhaps a third) of the work of our Parliament, we might roughly say, is directed towards legislation. It is the least satisfactorily performed task of Parliament, least well performed technically, and least satisfactory in terms of involving the public. Our legislative activity has long been exercised by the Civil Service at the behest of the inner Cabinet, and formally sanctioned by the whipped mass of M.P.s dependent on the Prime Minister for patronage and advancement. Ultimately, as we all know when we are not swooning in admiration for 'the sovereignty of parliament,' even the gift of a seat in the Commons is largely in the hands of the leaders of the two parties. The referendum doesn't strictly 'democratise' this situation, but it brings the pressure groups into the legislative process in a very effective way: the threat of a referendum is a potent threat, and the art of legislating comes to be the art of evading the referendum, of squaring organised pressure groups, and this directs the regard of ministers rather usefully outside parliament into the world of public opinion around them.

The two types of group with a direct immediate interest in the referendum as a set of institutions are, on the one hand, the moral pressure groups, anti-blood sport, pro aid-to-Africa-and-India, pacifist, idealist, and so on. These find in the referendum a purposive activity, something practical to do, something worth doing, and their best means of advertising themselves. I would fancy that together they might often command some 45% of those actually voting. Sometimes, for irrelevant reasons, they would gain the majority. The narrow margin would keep the 'silent' majority more than usually vocal, and less unorganised, than today. I think the Liberal Party could organise much of this protest vote, and perhaps be able to trade its influence for a proper share in the elective process, finishing, ultimately, as

a 20% party in a coalition parliament.

As in Switzerland, I think that the disenfranchised right wing would find the referendum usable. I am not confident that our vicarious guerrilla war against Rhodesia, or the lukewarmness of our reaction to Irish catholic provocation, or our policies towards immigrants, have 'the full hearted support of the majority' of voters. Again, popular anger at a strike of power workers or dockers might reflect itself, irrelevantly, in the form of a repeal of the Race Relations Act (for example) through a referendum. Most often, as with the protest groups, the causes of the nationalist right would probably stick at the 45% hurdle.

For the referendum is a negative device, and in this rather trivial sense is often conservative. Its positive work is to bring the sitters-in and the dark-mutterers into the balloting booth. Its main negative effect is to put the great institutions of the sub-world of the Constitution, legislative majorities, mass parties, strikers, rioters, on their good behaviour. But it has a relatively trivial, but entirely useful, effect in sending back to the drawing board inflationary and élitist schemes, of not so much bringing the public into politics as taking the progressive élite out of the centre of the stage. In this sense also the referendum maintains the existing moral and social order, and by negative means has a conservative effect.

My own opinion of the referendum as a British institution, having regard to the almost universal discredit into which our parliamentary institutions have fallen in the last fifteen years, is that it is our best catalyst for a thorough-going reform, and in this sense, a desirable alternative to military government. Morally, representative government by alternating party machines may (for all I know) be preferable to the institutions the regular use of the referendum will bring about. But parliamentary government has, in recent years, failed to provide the style of conservative leadership or the sort of socialism which it requires in order for parliament to operate in modern conditions. The recent introduction of the referendum into Northern Irish and, now, into United Kingdom affairs may be the wisest thing we have done in the last generation. Come to that, if any government were to take an idea of a compact of government seriously, 'a social contract', on the constitutional level, the only offer acceptable to a people must be the referendum, in the form of a possibility of challenging any act of Parliament to a majority vote of the whole electorate.

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NEW ZEALAND AND THE EEC

by Juliet Lodge

MR. Rowling's recent visit to Britain and other EEC member states gave rise to much criticism in New Zealand. Some members of the National Party objected to the way in which the tour had been conducted and to the fact that Mr. Rowling had omitted to pay courtesy calls on the governments of all EEC member states. Whilst it is usually rare for commentators to advocate New Zealand following Australian examples in the sphere of foreign relations, it was felt that this time Mr. Rowling would have done well to follow Mr. Whitlam's example in visiting the EEC Commission prior to the British Government. The logic behind this argument lies in the belief that it is important for third countries to publicly demonstrate their awareness of the primary role of the Commission in the formulation of EEC foreign trade policy. Furthermore, it is argued that the Commission rather than the British Government alone should be the focus of attention for New Zealand's foreign trade policy-makers. This is not to deny the importance of continuing good relations with the British Government, but merely to emphasise New Zealand's recognition of the distinct corporate identity of the European Community in international affairs.

The New Zealand Government has been unsettled by the 'renegotiation' of the Treaty of Accession, and its attitude towards the British undertaking has been permeated by uncertainty and dualism. On the one hand, it was noted that since New Zealand's prime aim *vis-à-vis* Britain was to secure the right to continue exporting—at a fair price—such quantities of dairy and meat products to Britain free of import restrictions, and since British accession to the Community had resulted in curtailment of this right, if Britain's 'renegotiation' were to result in secession (and there were many pundits who failed to dissociate rhetoric from reality) New Zealand's market interests would be safeguarded. This view was predicated not only on a mis-reading of the situation but also on a lack of awareness of the facts. The British Milk Marketing Board warned New Zealand prior to British accession to the Community that irrespective of EEC membership, New Zealand could expect to find reduced outlets in Britain for its produce —not least because of plans to expand domestic production.

On the other hand, it was believed that only if Britain remained in the EEC would British consumers be sufficiently prosperous to continue purchasing New Zealand dairy and meat products.

The view prevalent in official circles was that the outcome of the British 'renegotiation' could not be forecast with any degree of accuracy and that therefore New Zealand should plan its policies on the assumption that Britain would remain a member of the Community. Thus, continued diversification of export markets and export products was advocated, and steps were taken to secure price adjustments to the returns New Zealand obtained on its reduced exports to Britain. Indeed, it was the low return on exports to

Britain rather than the expressed intention to diversify export markets which gave impetus to market diversification. Higher prices were obtainable from other markets (where returns were not subject to a pricing formula which made no provision for inflation, as in the case of New Zealand's trade with Britain). Consequently, New Zealand exporters diverted their products from the British market with the result that New Zealand did not fulfil its quota allowances as set out in Protocol 18 of the Treaty of Accession.

New Zealand's non-fulfilment of its quota allowances, however, had a somewhat dysfunctional effect insofar as it has confirmed New Zealand's ability to diversify and to find dairy markets other than Britain (these do not represent 'comparable outlets' in that they comprise many small markets rather than one large one); and it has eroded any claim that New Zealand required even greater quota guarantees than those permitted in the Protocol up to 1977. But this does not imply that New Zealand exporters do not seek an extension of quota guarantees beyond 1977. On the contrary, there has been pressure for the New Zealand Government to seek guaranteed quotas for a period in advance of 1980. Mr. Rowling and Mr. Wilson agreed in principle that quotas should be extended to 1980, and that cheese should not be completely phased out of the British market. Much bargaining remains to be done before the details of any real agreement will be known. However, the cheese question is likely to be fraught with difficulties for a number of reasons.

First, during the course of the British EEC entry negotiations, Monsieur Pompidou discouraged the accordance of cheese guarantees to New Zealand. It was thus a concession that guaranteed cheese quotas thereafter did not imply the elimination of New Zealand cheese from the British market. Rather, it indicated that as from 1978 New Zealand's cheese exports to Britain would be contingent upon British consumer demand.

Second, Ireland has expanded its domestic production in order to enable Irish dairy farmers to avail themselves of any British market slack occasioned by the lapsing of the New Zealand cheese guarantees. The Irish and the Danes did, in the wake of New Zealand's non-fulfilment of its dairy quotas in 1974, make up the slack on the British market. The Irish Government certainly would not welcome the accordance of new cheese quota guarantees to New Zealand after 1977.

Third, Ireland can invoke similar arguments to New Zealand as to the justifiability of Irish exporters being afforded a greater share of the British dairy market: namely, that the larger European countries are under some obligation to protect the interests of smaller trading partners. The problem here is, however, that in some respects the Irish have a stronger case to make out if the moral aspects of the case are examined. Ireland's per capita income is lower than New Zealand's; Ireland is a member of the Community; Irish poverty will affect the overall well-being of the Community; New Zealand's 'special arrangement' was not intended to be of indefinite duration; and any gains for New Zealand after the transitional period will be to the disadvantage of Ireland's dairy exporters. Hence, the Irish have

every interest in ensuring that any further quota guarantees accorded New Zealand in respect of its butter and possibly cheese exports are not extended much in advance of 1977. However, Mr. Wilson secured a principled favourable response from his EEC partners at the Dublin summit on the question of further quota guarantees for New Zealand. But it is doubtful whether this will in practice amount to a major concession to New Zealand.

On the one hand, implicit in Protocol 18 is the continuation of New Zealand's dairy trade with Britain beyond 1977. Second, the Protocol contained the hint of the possibility that another transitional period for New Zealand might be arranged after 1977. Yet, any such extension was not to go beyond 1980. It was stated in the Protocol that any special arrangements beyond 1979 would be subject to a unanimous vote in the Council and this was interpreted as meaning that further special arrangements would be highly unlikely to gain the approbation of the Nine.

On the other hand, Mr. Wilson's and Mr. Rowling's principled agreement to a new pricing formula for New Zealand exports to take account of general inflation and continued de facto devaluation of sterling is significant in that the new pricing formula approximates one mooted but rejected during the course of the New Zealand negotiations in 1971. Although the new pricing provision would mean higher returns to New Zealand exporters, the overall effect would be minimal since there would be a concomitant reduction in the guaranteed quotas. Indeed, it is perhaps interesting to recall that during the negotiations on Britain's entry bid to the Community the French Government suggested that New Zealand be accorded somewhat higher quota guarantees for the transitional period in return for a higher British contribution to the EEC budget. There may, therefore, be grounds for supposing that the lower quotas suggested for New Zealand are not entirely unrelated to the likelihood of somewhat lower British budgetary contributions by 1978 than originally planned for in the Treaty of Accession.

In any case, it is clear that Britain and the Community wish to avert taking measures likely to encourage New Zealand to export increased quantities of dairy products to these markets. Quota guarantees are not merely useful safeguards from the point of view of the New Zealand exporter, but are also an effective way of limiting such exports. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that New Zealand operates a highly restrictive import policy and that a number of European countries await reciprocal concessions in respect of their export trade to New Zealand, since their trade balance with New Zealand is in deficit. One of the problems here is, however, largely a function of the deteriorating terms of trade of agricultural exporters. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that major restrictions will be lifted in the near future. This problem has certainly affected EEC member states: Denmark closed its high level offices in Wellington because its exporters were experiencing great difficulty in overcoming New Zealand's import restrictions.

The inclusion of the New Zealand issue in Britain's renegotiation package occasioned some surprise in official circles in New Zealand, particularly

since later this year New Zealand itself is to consider its trade and the functioning of Protocol 18 with the Commission as per Luxembourg Agreement. Although it was suggested that New Zealand had been included in the package as a token demonstration by Britain of its desires to secure 'better terms' for the Commonwealth as a whole, in effect its applicability was limited to New Zealand since New Zealand alone received special arrangements under the Treaty of Accession and since the sugar issue had been regulated in an EEC sugar agreement and in the Lomé Convention.

The real reason for New Zealand's inclusion was believed to reside in Mr. Wilson's evaluation of the impact of the renegotiation on the British public, and in his desire to make a number of related issues clear to the public. First, that New Zealand's interests had not been overlooked (the renegotiation was the last opportunity he had for re-expressing his dissatisfaction with the terms secured by the Conservative Government for New Zealand in 1971, and for taking steps to ameliorate these). Second, that he had obtained tangible improvements in Britain's 'terms of entry' to the Community during the course of the 'renegotiation.' It was suspected that since the technical amendments secured to aspects of the 'terms of entry' generally eluded the comprehension of officials, politicians and public alike, 'success' with the New Zealand case might provide Mr. Wilson with a basis on which to recommend a positive vote on EEC membership for the referendum.

The logic for using the New Zealand issue in this manner derives from experience gained during the entry bid negotiations. Then, National Opinion Polls conducted in 1971 revealed that very few people in Britain understood what the entry bid was about, much less what questions were being discussed: only 13% of the respondents could correctly name the then Six members of the Community; one-third did not know that France was a member; 18% realised that agriculture constituted a contentious issue, but 44% were aware that New Zealand's trade with Britain was under scrutiny.[1] Possibly Mr. Wilson seeks to use public awareness of at least one of the issues involved in the 'renegotiation' to the advantage of the pro-Marketeers. It has been suggested that this tactic may pay off for him if only because sectors of the public not 'au fait' with the 'facts' of the recent negotiations may exhibit a greater propensity to follow the advice of someone whose authority they respect.

These considerations led some observers in New Zealand to infer that New Zealand was being used as a pawn in British domestic politics, and that the readiness of the New Zealand Government to involve itself with the renegotiation had harmed New Zealand's case, in respect to the forthcoming review, as a result. Already, officials believe that New Zealand will be unable to secure significant improvements to its terms of trade with the Community (or more accurately with Britain, since New Zealand dairy exports may not be re-exported from Britain to other EEC states) during the course of the review. For domestic political reasons associated with the impending New Zealand general election later this year, the present Labour Government is anxious to provide evidence to the electorate that it

has been able to secure 'better terms' for New Zealand than those secured by Sir John Marshall in 1971. Like the British Labour Party, the New Zealand Labour Party (which was also in Opposition at that stage) condemned the Luxembourg Agreement as 'inadequate.' Whether or not on the basis of a rational appraisal of the situation prevailing both in 1971 and now, either the British Labour Party or its New Zealand counterpart can realistically expect to attain markedly improved terms remains to be seen. Certainly, it would do New Zealand little good to secure such propitious terms from the Community for another short transitional period that exporters were encouraged to reorient exports towards Europe only to be faced with a major diversification thereafter. Nevertheless, any extension of the transitional period beyond 1977 provides New Zealand with extra time in which to adapt her markets and products.

New Zealand is keen to develop her lamb trade with EEC members other than Britain and to promote a more comprehensive relationship with the Community both in the trade sphere (where it is recognised that New Zealand's marketing techniques are not all they might have been), and in the broader political sphere. The political aspect is important since New Zealand's close ties with Britain are beginning to cede place to a more inclusive close relationship with other members of the Community. Concurrently, New Zealand seeks to continue the policy initiated under the late Mr. Kirk to intensify New Zealand's relations with its South Pacific neighbours. Here, Mr. Kirk was instrumental in fostering the concept of South Pacific regionalism. During his visit to New Zealand in 1972, Ralf Dahrendorf expressed his approbation of such regional aspirations. Initially, the promotion of South Pacific regionalism and cooperation resulted in less attention being accorded New Zealand's relations with Europe. Now, however, New Zealand politicians and officials are keen to develop a more balanced foreign policy and not to neglect the European dimension of that policy.

The importance the New Zealand Government attaches to its relations with Europe can be gauged from the recent decision to send a Cabinet Minister to Britain as High Commissioner. Whilst, intra-party considerations indubitably contributed to the decision to select Mr. Watt for this post, the political import—in terms of New Zealand's relations with the Community—should not be under-estimated. In a number of respects, Mr. Watt will function as New Zealand's permanent Minister to Europe. He retains his Cabinet position and therefore his direct links with Cabinet colleagues and authority deriving from his Cabinet status.

The idea of New Zealand having a 'roving ambassador' or 'Minister to Europe' accredited to New Zealand's London post was mooted by the Labour Party in 1970 when it was suggested in Parliament by Dr. Finlay that the National Government adopt such a course. In some respects it is surprising that the Labour Government did not immediately take this course upon assuming office in 1972. Mr. Kirk's decision to 'downgrade' the London High Commission partly accounts for the omission. In addition, the effects of Protocol 18 in an inflationary period only became apparent

after Britain had joined the Community. However, the fact that the Labour Government rather belatedly chose to appoint a 'Minister to Europe' gave rise to speculation that Mr. Watt had been sent to London to solve intra-party problems.

At the same time, it may be that it was only quite recently felt that New Zealand could maximise its chances to influence British and EEC policy towards New Zealand by having a Minister resident in Europe. This perception owes something to both the lack of permanent links between New Zealand and the Community (no permanent EEC-New Zealand committee on trade, for example, exists) and to the agreement in 1974 that New Zealand's consultations with the Community should be supplemented at the official level by Ministers and experts from New Zealand when necessary. Thus, Mr. Watt is an envoy of the Cabinet to Europe and the fact of his Cabinet status will add political authority to the views expressed by New Zealand's other ambassadorial and administrative staff in Europe during the course of bargaining with the EEC. His appointment is thus indicative of the high political importance New Zealand attaches to developing continuing good trade and political relations with Europe. Moreover, it is not entirely divorced from New Zealand's wider foreign policy interests insofar as New Zealand believes that its interests converge with those of the Community on a number of important economic and political issues as was evinced by the decision to join the OECD and to become the 17th member of that organisation's International Energy Agency in 1975. Therefore, it can be concluded that the political will to cooperate with Europe on a wide range of questions exists even though the nature of New Zealand's trade relationship with Britain in the post-1977 period remains a contentious issue and tends to dominate other matters.

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[1] See R. Klein, 'The Case for Elitism: Public Opinion and Public Policy,' *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1974, p. 415.

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WORKING ON THE RAILROAD

by Thomas J. Clogger

IN East Africa in the twelfth century there was an Arab tradition that at some time the Chinese, owing to trouble at home, transferred their trade to the islands that lie off the Zinj (Negro) coast. 'I have never in my life', remarked Sir Mortimer Wheeler, after a fortnight's visit to Tanganyika in 1955, 'seen so much broken china as I have seen in the past fortnight along the coast here and the Kilwa Islands: literally, fragments of Chinese porcelain by the shovelful. In fact, I think it fair to say, that as far as the Middle Ages are concerned, from the tenth century onwards, the buried history of Tanganyika is written in Chinese porcelain'.

Today Tanganyika is the Republic of Tanzania and includes the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, once Arab dominated.

In Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, there lived for many years a small and prosperous colony of Chinese at Kurasini. It is believed that they came in the wake of the British, settled down and became market gardeners organised on the lines of an Israeli *moshav*—a co-operative kibbutz with a capitalist basis. The fruits of their toil had a ready market in the city.

Africa is essentially a huge plateau; in most parts terminating abruptly in terraces as it nears the sea. The problem which confronted all the great explorers of Africa in the Victorian age, was how to get into the interior and, having once got in, the next problem which, incidentally, the two greatest of them, Livingstone and Mungo Park, failed in the end to solve, was how to get out again. The railway changed all this and is an essential part of life in East Africa. It was the Germans, when they held German East Africa, who constructed railways linking Dar-es-Salaam to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika and Tanga to Moshi and Arusha in the Northern Highlands. Under the British Mandate a line was built from the capital to Mwanza on Lake Victoria and under the ill-fated groundnuts scheme, Mtwara was given a branch line. At the time there were some in the government who favoured a railway linking Dar-es-Salaam with its deep water berths and favourable shipping position to Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was then called before independence. Such a link, they pointed out, would bring the copper from the copperbelt to Tanganyika, instead of, as it then was, being shipped out through Beira, the main port in the Portuguese enclave. But they were defeated by the 'experts' who advised the government to have nothing to do with such a link on the grounds that 'such a railway would not be economically viable'.

Today, twelve years after independence, the Tanzam railway, starting from Dar-es-Salaam, reached the Zambian border on August 26, 1973. The 1,760 kilometre railroad slices through East Africa, linking the capital city of Tanzania with Zambia's rich copperbelt and it is the area's most complex engineering feat since the British built the Uganda railway at the turn of the century.

It was in early 1970 that a Chinese ship brought the first thousand technicians. This army grew until now there are some 20,000 Chinese working with the Africans on the project. It was two years ahead of schedule and was to be completed by 1974, so enabling Zambia to open up the interior and more important still, to divert its exports and imports around white Rhodesia.

The Tanzam railway is not the only Chinese project in Tanzania. The People's Defence Force of the country is being trained on modern lines by Chinese instructors. A textile mill and a radio station have been built in Dar-es-Salaam's rural area and are manned by Chinese technicians.

The projects are financed wholly by an interest-free loan repayable to Peking after 30 years. The Tanzanian and Zambian governments assert that this was done from motives of pure altruism, 'to assist their African brothers escape from the ties imposed on them by colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism'.

But is it a bridgehead for Chinese Communist penetration into the African continent? The railroad has been strongly attacked by South African Prime Minister John Vorster who has said it 'could be the springboard for millions of superfluous Chinese. One can easily imagine what would happen if the railway was built and if those technicians decided to stay.'

NORTHERN IRELAND: BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS

by Hugh Munro

WHETHER it is felt that Northern Ireland should exist or not, no one denies that there is a political division in the island of Ireland; and if we are to understand that division, if we are to make any progress at all towards resolving the Irish question, we must come to a coherent view as to the nature of the loyalty, patriotism, nationalism—call it what you will—which stands behind Ulster Unionism.

In fact, when one examines it, there is not one loyalty but two—and it is the conjuncture of these two distinctive loyalties which make the problem so insoluble. The two loyalties are political Protestantism and pro-British patriotism. Of course, a Unionist can have both of these loyalties at the one time, but they are nevertheless distinctive. People like Lord O'Neill, who puts Britain first and, while an Orangeman, wishes to calm sectarian tension, are at one end of the scale; at the other end are people like William Craig, who puts Protestant Unionism first, yet nevertheless fought in the RAF in the war.

Let us first consider Protestant Unionism on its own. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that it is a loyalty which relates not to Britain, but to the affairs of the island of Ireland. Its aim is to keep its people from coming under Catholic, Dublin rule. This is, of course, a negative aim, and we find that its slogans ('No Pope Here', 'No Surrender', 'Ulster Will Fight') are negative.

Unlike Scots or Welsh patriotism, it is a loyalty which has no geographical connotation. It does concern itself especially with the six counties of Northern Ireland—but only because these counties were picked out for separation from the rest of Ireland for the simple reason that they contained a large number of Protestants.

The only Northern Irish history with which Unionists concern themselves is sectarian history. They cannot—dare not— study the real history of the area, because, down through the ages to 1922, that history was just a part of Irish history. They cannot cherish all the people of Northern Ireland equally because one-third of them are Catholics; and to the Catholics, Northern Ireland, considered as a geographical entity, means nothing whatsoever.

Political Protestantism in Northern Ireland is a loyalty towards which Britain has no duty. Insofar as there are British people in Ireland, Britain could have a duty towards them. These people might also be Protestants, but that should not affect the issue, for we are, for the moment, dealing with political Protestantism, not with British patriotism; and political Protestantism is a loyalty which operates inside the politics of the island of Ireland and has nothing to do with Britain. If, of course, it could be shown that Dublin would persecute Protestants in a united Ireland, then Britain

might be entitled to intervene on their side, to protect them; but that is hardly being suggested. Protestants until lately had a raw deal in Spain, but no one ever suggested that Britain would be entitled to put troops ashore to help them. And while it cannot be denied that the Southern state does—inevitably, seeing the population is 95% Catholic—reflect Catholicism, it is hardly to be suggested that, say, the difficulties Southern Protestants have in getting contraceptives would entitle London to intervene to protect Northern Protestants from a united Ireland.

Britain's entitlement to sovereignty over Northern Ireland can only proceed from the existence of pro-British patriotism there. That such patriotism exists is beyond doubt, but apart from the few Catholic Unionists, it is inextricably mixed up with the Protestant Unionist feelings which most Protestants, to a greater or less degree, hold. Two separate motives could have impelled a voter to vote in the Border Poll of 1973 that Northern Ireland should remain in the UK—a genuine feeling of identification with Britain, or a desire to involve Britain on the side of Protestant Unionism in the purely internal Irish conflict between Unionism and Nationalism.

The trouble for Britain is that the two motives are hard to disentangle. Pro-British patriotism justifies British involvement, but a call for help from Protestant Unionists is not a call which Britain is entitled to answer, since it cannot be shown that a victory for Nationalism in the Unionist/Nationalist conflict would lead to any more than minor hardships for Protestants. And because pro-British feeling and Protestant Unionism tend to be mixed up in the same people, it is virtually impossible for Britain to support the cause she is entitled to support without intervening on one side in the internal Irish struggle, which she is not entitled to do. And to make matters worse, British politicians are inhibited from arguing this whole issue in public. Already the vast majority of the Catholic third of the population are against British sovereignty; admit that a significant number of the remaining two-thirds of the population are not British at all, but rather inhabitants of Ireland making use of Britain, and there is no pro-British majority at all. The right to fly the Union Jack over Stormont disappears, and the whole Northern Irish question is even more chaotic than ever.

The most obvious method of resolving this dilemma would be to integrate the island in the UK. This indeed would be the obvious thing to do if pro-British patriotism predominated in the province, for the existence of regional Stormont-type institutions can have no attractions for the genuine British patriot there. Indeed, the existence of Stormont inevitably made the Northern Irish seem less British than the British proper.

Northern Ireland is a place to which no British person can have a regional loyalty, in the way one can have a loyalty towards Wales and still be British. The only loyalty which relates to Northern Ireland is Protestant Unionism, and that is a loyalty which operates in Irish politics, not British. Northern Ireland, considered as a distinctive place, has no meaning for British people in British politics in the way that Scotland or Wales has. Think of it as a separate place and you tend to think of it as part of

Ireland, as a vulnerable area open to the endless pressure for Irish unity. To have any hope of fastening it securely into the UK, it would surely be best to integrate it, to strip it of as many as possible of the institutions and laws which distinguish it from the rest of Britain. That way its people could best be led to think of themselves at British; that way Protestant Unionism would be deprived of the institutions which give it a political base.

But integration is not on. The integration kite which Mr. Heath launched in September 1973 plunged quickly to earth; and it is not too much to say that since that time Britain's right to sovereignty over Northern Ireland is in question. For if Northern Ireland is to be in the UK and at the same time is not to be integrated, then it follows that there must be separate political institutions for the province. At the moment these separate institutions are run exclusively by British politicians (it is unthinkable that a Northern Irish Westminster MP could be asked to run a Northern Ireland government department under the present direct-rule system). While direct rule has many advantages, a system whereby a province has a separate government from which its parliamentary representatives are of necessity excluded can hardly be a lasting one. Regional government for Northern Ireland implies a regional parliament; and the difficulty is that a regional parliament must be based on the regional loyalty—and the only loyalty specific to Northern Ireland is Protestant Unionism. Even if Plaid Cymru had not a majority of the seats, we can hardly imagine a Welsh parliament which was not informed by the spirit and attitudes of the Plaid; and a Northern Irish parliament which is not an expression of Protestant Unionism is equally unthinkable.

Pro-British patriotism in Northern Ireland is a valid loyalty for Britain to support. Protestant Unionism is not. Pro-British patriotism is attractive and positive. Protestant Unionism is negative and very unattractive.

By rejecting integration, Britain has inflicted a defeat on her true friends in Northern Ireland and made inevitable the creation of institutions which will enable Protestant Unionism to flourish. By weakening her acceptable support she has made herself more dependent on her unacceptable support. It was probably always true that a majority in a Border Poll which would justify British sovereignty over the province could only be got by policies which involved Britain on Protestant Unionism's side in the internal Irish Unionism/Nationalism conflict; it is more than ever true now.

But, it will be asked, what about power-sharing? Cannot a Northern Ireland parliament be run on a power-sharing basis? Is not the Lebanon, despite its bitter community divisions, run successfully thus? The difference, however, between the Lebanon and Northern Ireland is that in the Lebanon there is agreement on the area of the territory to be governed. However bitter the internal conflicts, there is at least agreement on the fact that the Lebanon must have its own government. But the conflict between Unionist and Nationalist is about whether Northern Ireland should exist at all. If you have trouble between one group who want to live in a house and another group which wants to pull it down, it is no solution to suggest

that the two groups get together to maintain the building. You have in the North one community which wants to make sense of Northern Ireland and another whose long-term aim is to abolish it. It is no solution to say they should all get together to run the province in power-sharing partnership.

London and Dublin can dictate the form of Northern Ireland's constitution, but they cannot dictate the issues on which the province's politics will divide. Once Northern Irish political institutions are set up, they will take on their own life, and Northern Irish parties will use them—or abstain from them—as suits best. A Britain whose government party adopted a policy of abstention from the European Parliament to make a political point is in no position to object if Ulster Unionists refuse to work power-sharing because they feel that to do so suits their party's long-term advancement.

It is in any case accepted that any power-sharing institutions in Northern Ireland would have to concern themselves with relatively trivial issues. A government that is going to run a police force, for instance, must have behind it a patriotism which can move men's hearts, a patriotism for which men will face violence and maybe death in defence of the government and its laws. Without such a patriotism, the government would have to fall back on a mercenary police force. Now, while there is an overabundance of patriotisms in Northern Ireland—old-style Nationalism, Republicanism, Marxism, pro-British patriotism, for instance—there is, as has been said, only one patriotism which can stand behind the province's institutions, only one patriotism which identifies, if not with the geographical province, at least with two-thirds of its people—namely, Protestant Unionism. We saw, between 1921 and 1969, how Protestant Unionism could provide an effective, if discriminatory, police force—the RUC and the B Specials. What is not realised is that the province could have no other police force. But, even if power-sharing is concerned chiefly with trivia, why should Unionists bother to work it? The main point of Northern Irish political institutions, as far as they are concerned, is to provide a base from which they can operate in the politics of the island of Ireland. Their aim is to keep from coming under Dublin; whether the roads and factories are dealt with by Stormont or by British politicians operating the Northern Irish Government under direct rule, is a matter of minor importance to them. To be sure, Unionists do say that their main objection is to the Council of Ireland, not to power-sharing. But what this amounts to is that while they can see their way to cooperating with Nationalists over minor affairs, on the only important issue—the constitutional issue—there can be no possible concession to Nationalism.

And we may doubt if, in practice, there would be any power-sharing at all, even on minor issues. If it were once shown that Unionists and Nationalists could co-operate in a power-sharing Stormont, then it would be clear they could co-operate in a united Ireland. Why on earth should Unionists be expected to undermine their basic political tenet, by showing that unity can work? All they would have gained would be their own share of power over the minor issues at the price of building up the prestige and admin-

istrative capacity of their political enemies by letting them into government. Much better to refuse to work the regional institutions, to concentrate on the main task—the defence of the Border—and let the British operate direct rule.

If there are to be Northern Irish political institutions, we have to accept that they will have to invoke Protestant Unionism if they are to be made to work. The voters who switched to the U.U.U.C. in the elections of 1974 were not extremists. They were merely turning towards the only coherent source of order for Northern institutions—Protestant Unionism. What kind of government could a Faulkner-Fitt coalition be expected to give at the best of times, let alone at this time of near-civil war?

Of course, power-sharing is perfect for London and Dublin politicians. In urging reconciliation on Catholic and Protestant, they show themselves clearly to be on the side of the angels. Because power-sharing is a strictly local policy, no London or Dublin involvement is called for; and so, if it fails, it will be local politicians and voters who will seem to be to blame. And the more often it fails, the more loudly will London and Dublin talk of the need for power-sharing, and feel very superior and enlightened while they are at it.

But in fact failure to share power is no indication of Northern bigotry. Put Catholic and Protestant together in any context where the unity of Ireland is not in question and they will get along perfectly happily. It is only when they are put together in the Northern Ireland context that the trouble occurs.

For five years now, London's 'solutions' to the problem have made matters worse. One moderate Unionist leader after another has been discredited trying to push London's notions down the throats of Unionist voters. That Sunningdale would end in the discrediting of moderate Unionists was foreseeable and foreseen. We have to face the fact that trying to push power-sharing on the North is not a good or even a neutral policy. It makes matters worse. It has eliminated the centre, and forced moderate Unionist voters to switch to extremist leaders they would not normally follow.

At the moment, at least, London is committed to re-establishing some form of regional government in Northern Ireland. If the arguments given earlier in this article are correct, this regional government, if it is to have any effectiveness at all, must be a reflection of Protestant Unionism. At the same time, Northern Ireland will be a province of the United Kingdom, subject to the overall authority of the Westminster Parliament. Because Britain cannot face up to integration, she is falling back on a policy which involves standing over a regional government which must, to a greater or less extent, be a sectarian one. She must face up to the fact that its sectarian nature may make it impossible for her to stand over it, and that she must look beyond the policy of a regional Northern Ireland government to the alternatives—an independent Northern Ireland or Irish unity. In short, Protestant Unionism is going to have to be lived with, surrendered to, or pushed aside. An accurate, calm analysis of its true nature is a vital need.

A CANOPY OF LIMITATIONS

by E. Maxwell Fry, C.B.E.

> So far from our universe expanding, it is, of course, contracting, as what was once unknown, speculative and limitless, is known, charted, partitioned and allotted, the ends of it no more than a day's travel away. The contraction is absolute.
>
> When the word expanding is used, it is taken to mean that we too are expanding as though expansion were a form of progress, and creditable. And contracting, contrariwise, deflating and discreditable. But with the contraction of the world, which we feel without as yet understanding it or having any reassuring emotions about it, appear ceilings of possibility concerned with population, food, use of land surface, communications of many kinds, water, rewards for effort and so on, that appear ominous only if they are compared with the supposed other state.
>
> Yet one of the difficulties of dealing with this so-called expanding universe is that its problems expand with us, and therefore remain unsolved. This is true of population, food and communications and is not quite true of land, unless you are more than optimistic.
>
> But if in place of the idea of chasing this endless expansion one takes note of its possible limitations, we replace the notion of progress as being an Olympian race with Russia and America in the lead, to one of filling out into the spaces of problems of limited extent, and the idea of progress is switched from being a linear thrust into the unknown, or an explosion into uncharted space, to being a fulfilment or an achievement the more possible to imagine as progress for having identifiable targets.
>
> And almost at once value judgements are in question; and these are our concern. It is though we switched from basing our lives on a sales campaign backed by a productivity drive, to the fulfilment, however difficult of achievement or idealistic in essence, of a mission.[1]

These views, which the consequences of the oil embargo throw into relief, were expressed some ten years ago and serve to show that the oil crisis has done no more than accentuate and exacerbate a great turning movement on the affairs of the world, and man's attitude towards it. At a recent meeting discussing conservation, the principal speaker, Dr. O. F. Schumacher, noted the date of the oil crisis with a sort of grim satisfaction, as though to confirm that life would never be the same again, having reached a climacteric too definite to be overlooked.

It is not my object to substantiate this view of events which I believe is becoming generally accepted, but rather to investigate our reactions to it; what we expect of it; what it expects of us; and what therefore is the role we must play in a world so changed, supported by what class of ruling emotion. This I can as easily do as an artist or a writer as under any other guise since the econometricians and the logical philosophers must find themselves in a world that will fail to respond to their present systems of measurement, and they have on the whole been less than halpful.

The long life I have lived as a member of the western world has not lacked interest, surely; the rate of change could guarantee at least that. But it has lacked two things of which I have, with time, become increasingly conscious; namely, form and purpose. By form I mean the realisable shape of society, of style in its acts and artistry in its artifacts. And by purpose I

mean the acknowledged burden of obligations imposed upon us by our awareness of our fate as humans. This may take religious form or not according to circumstances, but is of a significance that makes it a possible substitute for religion. There has been much talk in recent years of the rights of man. I mean the reverse of this: his obligations.

Evidence of this lack of form has accumulated and accelerated during my lifetime. I was brought up in a city that had manifestly failed to achieve form under pressure of a nearly mindless proliferation of insignificant matter. Very brave attempts at the centre having failed to cohere and been swamped by mediocrity, its further growth swept over empty land oblivious of topography. Latter day attempts to bring some order into it were again defeated by the motor car which cut it into ribbons. This city is like every other in the land, and one and all mirror a life dominated by materialism.

I use the word descriptively as well as pejoratively, for who is there to deny that for the last century and a half we have seen, used and valued the world predominantly in physical terms; have performed our deeds and policies in economic terms; and looked no further than logic for our philosophical explanations of life's meaning; or that these dreadful cities of ours are not a direct reflection of this attitude?

If they alone were to be taken as the measure of a culture they would chart the destruction of form and order in successive and increasing waves of growth without identity, a system lacking government, hierarchic or idealistic. I have striven in my time to find an order in it, but what the system yields is inadequate insofar as any structure built of its components is immediately engulfed and destroyed by the excess of its low-grade technical, industrial or commercial excitement.

But the cities are but a measure among others in a world invaded in all its parts by a growth that, however plausible or high minded its intentions, is fated to be malignant as a condition of the circumstances that both promote and qualify it. This may be seen at specimen scale by noticing the diminishing effectiveness of communications in those magazines, of which the *Contemporary Review* is a restful exception, which, relying upon advertisements for their revenue, allow them to creep leaf by interleaf into the body of the text. This habit corresponds to advertisements interspersed among television programmes and both belong to the same disorder that creates wildernesses instead of communities, and depersonalises everything it touches.

It would be gratifying to be able to regard all this as separable from the sound body of our 'open society' and no true expression, therefore, of our age. But both it and the 'open society' are of the very stuff and substance of our lives, good and bad cohabiting like an ill-matched couple. The worst enemies of the 'open society' may, as easily as not, lie within. While the notion of an expanding universe was entertained by science, industry and the common man, it was normal to regard most problems as being open-ended; to expect towns to grow into cities and cities into metropolises, populations to multiply, markets to widen, and businesses to merge and dominate the earth. And all sections of society, recognising no limits to

their freedom, hastened to throw away ties of mutual obligation that began to look out-of-date and shabby, drew apart from each other, and tended to react with violence to any constraint imposed upon them, and in all this endangering the network of responsibilities by which an 'open society' is upheld.

The reverse of an open-ended proposition is a closed one, but there is no necessary parallel between an open and a closed system, and between growth and stagnation, for since growth takes place at the expense of what surrounds it, it can be of two kinds: either self-perpetuating or destructive.

The use of land is a case in point where Britain affords us a timely example. Before the early years of the century, land was regarded as a virtually inexhaustible commercial commodity insofar as no limits were set to the expansion of industry or urbanism, and little attention paid to the varying function of land use. This was an open-ended situation that was wasteful in two ways; of land as such, and of the social value of all land degraded by misuse. It was, it must be added, but one aspect of an attitude towards life sanctioned by science and deeply embedded in the whole productive system by which life was coloured and that set no limits on expansion of any kind, including the reproductive capacity of populations.

Town planning substituted a closed for an open system as, from modest beginnings, it came to cover the entire country in a pattern of restricted land use defining the functions of land on the basis of social rather than market value. This is a clear case of the creation of value by acknowledging the limits of possibility open for growth.

The 'new towns' policy went a stage further in deflating the idea of size as being in itself a merit. It was and remains an idealistic conception, socially based. The impulse to build six new satellite towns around London arose from an appreciation of its inflamed size and suppurating condition. Surgery being ineffective, the six towns were designed to draw off industry and population into new centres of limited growth, protected by green belts from the uncoordinated growth that had lowered the quality of life in the parent body.

This process of designed restriction or constraint is beautifully parallelled in nature, which realises itself in completed identity of flora and fauna, constantly renewed. It is also the mainspring of art, which is for ever creating new systems of order out of the constraints imposed by materials on ideas and performing the socially useful function of hastening the process of self-realisation that connects us with reality and allots the role we are to play. Where man is constrained either by immutable external forces or by periods of clear self-realisation embodied in taste or widely held belief, he also creates identity, form, value and beauty.

We are now, it would appear, at the beginning of a major re-education in the ways of the world, following upon the announcement of the extent to which we have polluted our surroundings on the earth, in the waters and in the atmosphere; and not content with this, have overdrawn our limited resources of energy and minerals.

These evidences of mismanagement are unfortunately merely the effects

of an attitude to life which we still find it hard not to regard as rational, positive and in pursuit of truth, so that we can imagine remedies only in the terms of the system that has provided the ills. The arguments of Karl Popper and Peter Medawar tend to obscure the extent of revaluation necessary for salvation. Both continue a rational argument from premisses increasingly out of context with events.

I prefer Geoffrey Vickers' reading of them as yielding little nearer to solution through technology, the decisions now only to be sought in terms social, cultural and political.

If this is so, then the sooner we can measure and recognise what limits our future action, the sooner we will harmonize our actions with its overriding conditions. For this purpose a peck of sentiment is worth a ton of reason; or rather, it will be harder to find new bearings without a strong emotional shift from a belief in technology with all its latter day illogic, towards a greater interest in man and the earth upon which he depends, moving from aggregations of self-interest towards such veins of practical idealism as produced the new towns and as now stir the young to works of conservation and to perilous adventures in search of life patterns independent of the 'system' they regard with such aversion.

Where an educated young man of good family quits his society to become a simple fisherman, to quote one of many instances to which we can all testify, he does not reject only the technological and commercial aspects of the life he has abandoned, but the line of conduct it imposes; its greed and envy certainly, but also the flaccid and unenquiring acceptance of affluence, the abnegations of responsibility and the acquiescence in inferiority.

Thus the separate problems of providing enough water for New York or of disposing of its garbage, which rank equal with its delinquency and violence, are not technical problems, but moral issues. New York uses double the quantity of water per head of population than does London because its technology has overreached itself and from being a matter of pride has become a reproach.

But the recently announced thirty-year storage and supply plan for the relatively moist climate of England will cost us at least £1,500 million and bring the 'cost of a pint of water to that of a pint of beer by the end of the century'[2] unless we forbear to live as though the world owes us a living; unless, indeed, we come to see ourselves as guardians of, not predators on, the living world.[3]

Even that is too confident a word where so much we should have guarded is dead, or out of control. There is an element of submission or humility we have still to weave into the conception of the role that fate now calls us to.

Population growth, which is itself a consequence of a so-called rational view of life, hampers the solution of every dependent problem, but in Britain less than elsewhere. Where, in developing countries like Nigeria or Iran, rapid industrialisation sweeps peasants into the uncontrolled slums of the cities, we spread the load into new towns and closely relate movements of population to the harmonious use of land, and do this, not to increase the G.N.P. or boost exports, but out of a genuine respect for people and a

love of our country; the same impulses that actuate our conservation and our anti-pollution exertions.

Although we have a greater concentration of people on land than most countries, and on the south-east region more than in the rest of the country, that region is less endangered than is the periphery of Paris or Lagos, largely because of our emotional support for the worth of 'social engineering' that goes by the name of town-planning. It is this peculiar combination of emotion and practical adaptation to circumstances that I see as pointing to the larger shift of sentiment that the future will demand of us.

Many critics have noted the gradual coalescence into what is quite rightly called 'the system' of what were once the semi-independent activities of pure and applied science, industry, commerce and trade. If expanding populations and mechanised production provided its incentive, then advanced technology that deals with instrumentation rather than mechanisation has been a major enabling factor of communication and control for international business, and for centralised government also.

These monolithic organisations sit heavily upon us and, however necessary they may appear to those who operate them, they tend increasingly to alienate society by dividing it into a new structure of 'we's' and 'they's'; into those with power to 'do' and those others who must suffer being 'done to'.

In these amalgamations of powers the real virtues of pure and applied science, of technology, of manufacture and, markedly, of information, lose identity and purpose as they become harnessed to big business or big government, and by losing it tend also to lose their ethical and moral justification. They stand in need of re-definition, of being isolated and examined for what they are and how they should function in societies gradually awakening to their duty to their neighbours and to a God no longer enthroned at the pinnacle of the physical sciences.

I cannot help agreeing with Dr. Schumacher that size menaces social well-being. Is it not a contradiction in terms that the Ministry of the Environment that stresses the communal aspect of life, should carry an enormous staff of executive architects organised on the traditional lines of government bureaucracies so foreign to the art, when, by confining itself to the client role of briefing and monitoring followed by the University Grants Committee, it could regenerate architecture as a local and regional activity? I draw this example from Government only to stress the omnipresence of mere size in the management of our affairs.

When every argument of economics and politics is exhausted, is it a question of whether or not we have erred and sinned; and whether we now repent? If we have erred then it is because we have overvalued, misconstrued or misapplied the benefits of science; or, that somewhere in its process or methodology of abstraction there is a gross error; some warping of the mind that ensues; some denial of an aesthetic that should connect it with the deep springs of sympathy that underlay Blake's use of the word imagination.

A. N. Whitehead's pursuit of the full cycle of events contingent upon all

propositions is a philosopher-scientist's attempt to re-interpret Blake in metaphysical terms. But is not the revelation of over-population and pollution not its complete exemplar? Are we not here presented on world scale with the picture of life cycles interrupted, damaged or destroyed beyond repair? And is this not the prime imaginative failure of science and of the attitude of mind it propagated and instilled up to this present when technocracy[4] rules our thoughts and binds our actions?

Is it not then the essence of successful survival that science and all that is gathered to it,—the whole fabric of rational technology and the grim masters it serves—are commanded by a greater faith in the wholeness of life than it now entertains? And from this to a submission to natural laws of greater consequence than the belief that nature will 'never let it down' upon which science has built its now discredited empire?

As the lights are lowered in city streets and night invests them with forgotten beauty; as, under duress, we seek for economies in the mountain of our affluent waste; as we turn to set the proud house built upon false credit in some order for a siege, and say goodbye to the carefree life of the western world, let us bow down in submission and humility to the earth we have plundered and to the mysterious unity of which it forms a part. If the community of man is to replace the golden calf then we must accept the mystery that envelops all life, as being so central to our thoughts that in its contemplation we will find the proportions of the possible vouchsafed to us, the canopy of limitations under which, once again, we may hope to live the 'good life'.

[Professor E. Maxwell Fry is the author of *Architecture in the Humid Tropics* and *Art in a Machine Age*.]

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[1] *Art in a Machine Age*. Maxwell Fry. Methuen. 1969.

[2] *The Times*. 23 January, 1974.

[3] See also *Enemies of the Open Society*, Sir Karl Popper ; *The Hope of Progress*, Sir Peter Medawar ; *Freedom in a Rocking Boat*, Sir Geoffrey Vickers.

[4] Technocracy. Organisation and management of a country's industrial resources by technical exports for the good of the whole community. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

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THE SHOT HEARD ROUND THE WORLD (Part Two)

by Esmond Wright

BY the time the British did reach Lexington, the Minute Men—and indeed the countryside—were awaiting them. 130 Minute Men assembled at one o'clock in the morning on Lexington Green, under Captain Parker, 'a great tall man with a large head'. He was a 45-year-old veteran of the French and Indian War, who had served with Rogers's Rangers, a farmer with a family of seven children. He was elected a captain by the men themselves, a quarter of whom were his kinsmen, and over 20 of whom were veterans too—and 55 out of 77 of them were over 30. He was no hero, he wanted no confrontation. In his deposition, written 6 days later—the Provincial Congress were wise to insure themselves against future criticism—he said:

> . . . in the morning, about One of the Clock . . . ordered our militia to meet on Common . . . *to consult what to do,* and concluded *not to be discovered,* nor to meddle or make with said Regular Troops.

After one hour's wait in the cold he ordered them to disperse; and this, no doubt to the profit of Buckman's Tavern, they did.

Lexington green was a triangle bordered by three roads. The road from Boston to Concord ran along its base, and Parker's men were drawn up not more than a hundred yards from it, in two straggling lines of some 40 or more men. What Parker expected to do with his two score men against Smith's seven hundred, no one can be sure. He did not intend to oppose force with force, but to resist any overt act.

Parker gave an order to his men: 'Stand your ground! Don't fire unless fired upon! But if they want to have a war, let it begin here!'

'There are so few of us,' said one of his men, 'it is folly to stand here.' 'The first man who offers to run shall be shot down,' replied Parker. So there they stood, an offering for a sacrifice. Some of the men, nevertheless, did drift away. The rest were outnumbered 20 to 1.

Pitcairn, with two other officers, rode to the front, within a hundred feet of Parker's lines. 'Lay down your arms, you damned rebels, and disperse!' Then there was a single shot, and from one of the British officers, not Pitcairn, a command: 'Fire, by God! Fire!' A volley from one platoon rang out—'They did not take sight,' says a witness; the bullets went high over the Americans' heads. Pitcairn 'struck his staff or Sword downward with all Earnestness as a signal to forbear or cease firing,' but without avail. 'The Soldiery and young Officers wanted to have at the damned Dogs, & in their impetuosity burst out into firing & continued it contrary to the Command of Pitcairn.' There was another volley that tore through the already retreating American ranks, answered by a feeble discharge in reply, and then the British charged.

Jonas Parker, an older cousin of the captain, stood his ground. In his hat at his feet he had put bullets, wadding and spare flints. When a British ball

buckled his knees, he tried to reload, but a redcoat's bayonet killed him. Jonathan Harrington, with a ball in his body, dragged himself from the Common almost to his own doorstep, but he died before his anguished wife, bursting from the house, could reach him. John Brown fell on the edge of a swamp a little to the north of the Common. Another man slumped dead behind the wall in John Buckman's garden.

The regulars went entirely out of hand, as Lieutenant Barker admitted: 'The men were so wild they could hear no orders.' Major Pitcairn was furious and horrified; one of his subordinates, it seemed clear, had shouted the order to fire. His own cease-fire order went unheeded. He was finally able to form his unruly ranks, just as Colonel Smith came into sight with the main body.

The Common was empty now, except for the redcoats marching on to Concord and the rebel dead and wounded. In those few minutes of fire, eight Massachusetts men had been killed and ten wounded. One regular had suffered a slight leg wound, and Major Pitcairn's horse had been struck lightly twice.

When the news reached Sam Adams, riding by chaise, for he did not like riding on horseback, he exclaimed, 'Oh, what a glorious morning is this!' When Hancock expressed surprise at the coldbloodedness of his indifference to the men killed, he said, 'I mean for America.' For already the alarms were out. Long before the shots were fired on Lexington Green, Minute Men were out at Lynn and Woburn, Reading and Danvers, Tewkesbury and Bedford, Dedham and Worcester, armed with muskets that the English law required them to own, and marching from more than 40 towns to the aid of Concord. The powder there had already been moved and hidden. Harness-maker Reuben Brown of Concorde had, as a scout, watched the shooting at Lexington and reported it to his friends. Already five local Concord companies were alerted, with a company from Lincoln too. As Corporal Amos Barrett told it—

> the Beel Rong at 3 o Clock for alarum, as I was then a minnit man I was soon in town and found my Capt and the Rest of my Compny at the post. it wont Long Before thair was other minit Compneys. one Compney I believe of minnit men was Raisd in most every town to Stand at a minits warning. before Sunrise thair was I beleave 150 of us and more of all that was thair. we thought we wood go and meet the Britsh. we marched Down to wards L[exington] about mild or mild half and we see them acomming. we halted and stayd till they got within about 100 Rods. then we was orded to the about face and marchd before them with our Droms and fifes agoing and also the B[ritish]. We had grand musick.

Ironically, therefore, the Concord Minute Men acted as a ceremonial advance guard for the British regulars on the last five miles of their march. In the town, the British troops searched for stores to destroy. Advance companies secured the two bridges, three at the South Bridge, six at the North, beyond which Minute Men and militia were assembling. While some British troops of the 43rd regiment crossed the river to search the farm of James Barrett, who was the commander of the Middlesex County militia, in what a later war would call a 'search and destroy' mission, the American forces increased steadily in strength. From Acton came thirty-eight Minute

Men under a gunsmith, Isaac Davis, and two companies of militia. Several score from Bedford were there. Men from Lincoln came, and other small groups. The rebel force grew to about four hundred and fifty strong, standing menacingly on the hill.

There was an uneasy tension on both sides.

Captain Laurie, at the North Bridge, reported,

> . . . as they came nearer, the Light Company of the Fourth Regiment posted on a height immediately retreated to me at the bridge as did likewise the Light Company of the Tenth Regiment, who also had been at no great distance. Upon this, I sent Lieutenant [Alexander] Robertson . . . to acquaint Colonel Smith of my situation, desiring he would send some of the Grenadiers to support me in case of their attacking. Mr. Robertson brought for answer that two companies would be sent me. By this time the body of the country people arrived on the heights which the company of the Fourth Regiment had occupied, and there drew up with shouldered arms . . .
>
> They halted for a considerable time looking at us and then moved down upon me in a seeming regular manner . . . I determined to repass the bridge with the three companies, retreating by divisions to check their progress, which we . . . did, lining the opposite side of the river with one company to flank the other two in case of an attack. By this time they were close upon us.

Corporal Amos Barrett was with the third company of Minute Men; he saw it differently:

> Mager Buttrick said if we wair all of his mind he would Drive them away from the Bridge. they should not air that up. we all said we wood go. We then warnt Loded. we wair all orded to Load and had stricked order not to fire till they fird firs, then to fire as fast as we could. we then marchd on . . . 2 Deep. It was a long Corsay . . . Capt Davis had got, I Be leave, within 15 Rods of the B[ritish] when they fird 3 gons one after the other. I see the Balls strike in the River on the Right of me. as soon as they fird them, they fird on us. their balls whisled well. we then was all orded to fire . . . it is Straing that their warnt no more kild but they fird to high. Capt Davis was kild and mr osmore and a number wounded. we soon Drove them from the Bridge.

Three regulars were killed, four officers and four privates were wounded, before Laurie's men fled from the bridge back towards town.

There, the British search was not completely unsuccessful. They threw 500 pounds of musket balls into a mill pond, broke open 60 barrels of flour, knocked the mounts off the jailyard cannon, and made a bonfire of the town's liberty pole, 16 carriage wheels and some barrels of wooden trenchers and spoons. The fire spread to the roof of the nearby town house. It was soon extinguished, but its billowing smoke alarmed the Minute Men on the heights overlooking the town.

Indeed, the rebels had been remarkably restrained. One ugly incident arose. A boy, armed only with a hatchet, had found a wounded British soldier struggling to his knees at the bridge and, conceiving it to be his duty to kill the enemy, had savaged him around the head with his hatchet. When the British soldiers under Captain Parsons reached the bridge from their search of Barrett's farm, they concluded that their comrade has been scalped and had his ears cut off. The story spread. General Gage published it and it became accepted as fact. Stedman, in his history, says that 'Several of Smith's men were scalped by the Americans'; in 1841 Adolphus repeated

the tale, and so did Fortescue in his *History of the British Army,* published in 1911.

The rebels allowed the British to retire in order for about a mile out of town. Then, as the red ranks, marching in column in 'St. James's fashion', came to a bridge where the road narrowed, the angry men of the Massachusetts towns swarmed down on them. 'Of a sudden', Corporal Amos Barrett said, 'a grait many Lay dead and the Road was bloddy.' For Lieutenant Barker, of the King's Own Regiment, a nightmare had begun:

> . . . we were fired on from all sides, but mostly from the rear, where people had hid themselves in houses till we had passed and then fired. The country was an amazing strong one, full of hills, woods, stone walls etc., which the rebels did not fail to take advantage of, for they were all lined with people who kept an incessant fire upon us, as we did too upon them, but not with the same advantage, for they were so concealed there was hardly any seeing them. In this way, we marched . . . miles, their numbers increasing from all parts, while ours was reducing by deaths, wounds, and fatigue; and we were totally surrounded with such an incessant fire as it's impossible to conceive; our ammunition was likely near expended.

To Ensign de Berniere there seemed to be at least 5,000 of them.

This was war, guerrilla fashion, as provincial Indian fighters knew it: each man for himself, using whatever cover was available. Muskets had a range of only 60 yards, so cover and accuracy mattered, and the shooting was to kill. To the British, trained for open field fighting, it was the action of 'rascals' and 'confessed villains', 'making this cowardly disposition . . . to murder us all.'

The relief force that Colonel Smith had requested was now on its way under Lord Percy. It consisted of eight companies each of the 4th, 23rd, 47th and Marines, 1,400 men in all. It had been ordered out, in fact, by Gage before Smith's message reached him—ordered at 4 in the morning. Again it was a story of delay and confusion. The instructions were left for the Marines at Major Pitcairn's billet, forgetting the obvious point that Pitcairn was not there to read them. The relief force did not move until 9 a.m. They met the retreating and now near-panicking British at Lexington, and formed a hollow square in which to shield them. They used cannon to push the rebel Minute Men back from the hedges and fences they used as cover. They destroyed those houses that seemed to shelter rebel marksmen. Officers lost control of their men, especially the flankers and the inevitable freebooters. The ugly and now bloodthirsty confusion of the day's events has naturally been contradictorily described. Here is Lieutenant Mackenzie's, of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, description of it.

> Our men had very few opportunities of getting good shots at the rebels, as they hardly ever fired but under cover of a stone wall, from behind a tree, or out of a house, and the moment they had fired, they lay down out of sight until they had loaded again or the column had passed. In the road indeed in our rear, they were most numerous and came on pretty close, frequently calling out 'King Hancock forever!' Many of them were killed in the houses on the roadside from whence they fired; in some of them seven or eight men were destroyed. Some houses were forced open in which no person could be discovered, but when the column had passed, numbers sallied out from some place in which they had lain concealed, fired at our rear guard and augmented the numbers which followed us. If we had had time to set fire to those houses, many of the rebels must have

perished in them, but as night drew on Lord Percy thought it best to continue the march. Many houses were plundered by the soldiers, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers to prevent it. I have no doubt this inflamed the rebels and made many of them follow us farther than they would otherwise have done. By all accounts some soldiers who stayed too long in the houses were killed in the very act of plundering by those who lay concealed in them. We brought in about ten prisoners, some of whom were taken in arms. One or two more were killed on the march while prisoners by the fire of their own people.

Few or no women or children were to be seen throughout the day. As the country had undoubted intelligence that some troops were to march out and the rebels were probably determined to attack them, it is generally supposed they had previously removed their families from the neighbourhood.

From the other side it was a story of a savage attack on women and children. Not rape—the circumstances hardly gave time for that—but of attacks on women just after childbirth.

. . . Divers of them entered our house by bursting open the doors, and three of the soldiers broke into the room in which I then was laid on my bed, being scarcely able to walk from my bed to the fire, and not having been to my chamber door from my being delivered in childbirth to that time. One of said soldiers immediately opened my [bed] curtains with his bayonet fixed and pointing . . . to my breast. I immediately cried out, 'For the Lord's sake, don't kill me!'

He replied, 'Damn you.'

One that stood near said, 'We will not hurt the woman if she will go out of the house, but we will surely burn it.'

I immediately arose, threw a blanket over me, went out, and crawled into a corn-house near the door with my infant in my arms, where I remained until they were gone. They immediately set the house on fire, in which I had left five children and no other person; but the fire was happily extinguished when the house was in the utmost danger of being utterly consumed.

The facts were that Hannah Adams' baby had been born 19 days before. It was her 10th child, and she was 45. She survived the 10 childbirths, and the British soldiery, and lived to the ripe age of 73.

Farther on, at Cooper's Tavern—so the owners later declared—

The King's Regular troops . . . fired more than one hundred bullets into the house where we dwell, through doors, windows, etc. Then a number of them entered the house where we and two aged gentlemen were, all unarmed. We escaped for our lives into the cellar. The two aged gentlemen were immediately most barbarously and inhumanly murdered by them, being stabbed through in many places, their heads mauled, skulls broke, and their brains beat out on the floor and walls of the house.

It was six-thirty and the shades of night were gathering before the exhausted and hobbling force staggered past Bunker Hill and across the Charlestown Neck, into the welcome protection of Boston. 'The rebels ceased fire', charged Ensign Lister, 'they not having it in their power to pursue us further in their skulking way behind hedges and walls.'

Thus ended a grim April day. About eighteen hundred British regulars had marched out to destroy rebel stores; seventy-three of them had been killed, two hundred were wounded or missing—some 16% of the total force. Probably an equal number of Americans had been engaged during the day, but no one could count accurately the men who came, shot at the red column, and then disappeared. Forty-nine of them had died, and forty-six were wounded or missing, some 2½% of the total militia participating.

American historians, patriots, poets and politicians have explored every aspect of the events of these 24 hours. The facts seem to show quite clearly that neither Lexington nor Concord had had any previous history of riot or rebellion, and had never been stirred by newspaper excitements. The Stamp Act meant nothing to them, nor did its restrictions on trade with Britain. Some 40 men were straddled uncertainly across the village green with no intention of firing the first shot, but of registering only a hurt and silent protest against the British forces as they marched past. Captain Parker and his men, who were also his kinsmen, did not wish to start a war. But the shot was fired. We will never know who did it. It was almost certainly not one of the Minute Men, nor of the soldiers. Some say that the shot came from one of the bystanders, and some 30 or 40 men were standing around the village green. Pitcairn said that a musket behind a stone wall flashed in the pan, and several shots rang out. Another account says that the shot came from Buckman's Tavern; but, as in the Boston Massacre of 1770, it was an unknown who fired. The British soldiers then lost control. Major Pitcairn had no more wish than did Captain Parker to start a war. American patriot historians blamed him, notably Bancroft. For more than a century of legend, he was 'a bloody butcher,' He denied the charge—while he lived. But two months later he died, in his son's arms, at Bunker Hill. The war came—as so often—by inadvertence, because the situation was electrically charged and the ground prepared.

At Lexington and Concord the United States was born. Now indeed there were martyrs, including women, children and 'aged gentlemen'; there were heroes; and there was an enemy. One in every 23 of Lexington's adult males was dead. *Silent leges inter arma.* An intellectual and radical protest had now become a rebellion in arms. But this is first and last a story of simple folk thrust into history and legend, to their vast surprise. Let the last word rest with Elizabeth Clarke, the little girl of 12, whose sleep had been so disturbed in 1775. Sixty-six years later, in 1841, she was still alive, the last of the Hancocks and Clarkes to live in the old manse. She wrote to her niece and gave a vivid portrayal of the events of that historic night and day.

Lexington, April 19th, 1841

My dear niece Lucy Allen:

Miss Colton offers to take a line to you, and, as your little girl did not stay or come to this house only to give us your letter which with the sincerest joy we read and have lived on the hope you gave us that you would come up to this old House and look on us old Beings, a house and Happy, HAPPY home and many worthy men and women have been the inhabitants and oh! Lucy, how many descendants can I count from the venerable Hancock down to this day which is sixty-six years since the war began on the Common which I now can see from this window as here I sit writing, and can see, in my mind, just as plain, all the British troops marching off the Common to Concord, and the whole scene, how Aunt Hancock and Miss Dolly Quincy, with their cloaks and bonnets on, Aunt crying and wringing her hands and helping Mother Dress the children, Dolly going round with Father, to hide Money, watches and anything down in the potatoes and up garrett, and then Grandfather Clarke sent down men with carts, took your Mother and all the children but Jonas and me and Sally a Babe six months old. Father sent Jonas down to Grandfather Cook's to see who was killed and what their condition was and, in the afternoon, Father, Mother with

P. G. WODEHOUSE: 1881-1975

by R. C. Churchill

'You have heard the news, Jeeves?'
'I have indeed, sir.'
'What's that thing of yours, Jeeves?'
'Sir?'
'Something about an eclipse . . . '
'Ah, yes, sir. "His death eclipsed the gaiety of nations and diminished the publick stock of harmless pleasure".'
'That's it, Jeeves.'
'Written by Dr. Johnson, sir, on the death of his friend and former pupil, the famous actor David Garrick.'
'Applies also to Sir Pelham, Jeeves?'
'Applies most certainly to Sir Pelham, sir. With the qualification, sir, that we still have Sir Pelham's books.'
'I had forgotten the books, Jeeves.'
'They are not likely to be forgotten, sir, by connoisseurs of the ludicrous.'
'Or by those who like a good laugh, Jeeves.'
'Precisely, sir.'

It is very easy to imitate P. G. Wodehouse, either in affectionate tribute, as here, or in the hope of winning a prize in a literary competition. But the ease of the imitation does not reflect on the originality of the original. One of the greatest and most original writers in the English language was known as 'the Inimitable Boz'. But the cognomen did not prevent him from being imitated. Quite the contrary! G. W. M. Reynolds, Renton Nicholson and other early Victorian journalists shamelessly imitated nearly every book of Dickens that came out, sometimes before 'the Inimitable' had completed the original work in monthly parts or weekly instalments. *Pickwick Abroad, Nickleby Married, Master Timothy's Book-Case, Martin Puzzlewhit, Dombey and Daughter* . . . plagiarisms in penny numbers vied with unauthorised stage versions in cashing in on the popularity of Boz.

This sort of thing can only occur with writers who are universally read, who are known to virtually everybody, from bishops to barmen, from average-adjusters (like the hero of the Wodehouse story *There's Always Golf*) to Zionists and zoologists. Writers, moreover, who have strong characteristics in narrative style and conversational idiom, writers who have created characters who have rapidly become household words and have subsequently been used as shorthand to indicate types of people in real life, as when we speak of 'a Bumble' or 'a Sherlock Holmes'. Many people imitated Dickens; few thought of imitating Thackeray or George Eliot.

I had the honour during the war of being the first writer to defend Wodehouse in print after his unfortunate broadcasts from Berlin, for which he later apologised. My defence appeared in *Scrutiny* in 1943, two years before Orwell's famous article in *The Windmill* in 1945, followed by Hugh Kingsmill in *The New English Review* in 1946. I poured some youthful scorn in 1943, I remember, on Hilaire Belloc's pre-war pronouncement that Wodehouse was the best living writer of English. I still think that a wild exagger-

ation, and Wodehouse himself always held a much more modest opinion of his powers. But insofar as Belloc was meaning to draw attention to Wodehouse's use of the English *language*, he was, of course, perfectly correct. All humorists of high quality depend primarily on their skilful use of their native tongue, whether they are great writers like Dickens or comparatively lesser immortals like Thomas Hood, Lewis Carroll, Jerome K. Jerome or W. W. Jacobs. A writer like Wodehouse who published over a hundred books cannot have been a Flaubert or a James Joyce, but in his own style and idiom he was a connoisseur of the *mot juste*, as careful to get the precise nuance of every Bertie Wooster slang phrase—so artfully contrasted with the stately idiom of Jeeves—as Joyce was to catch the precise accent of the various inhabitants of Dublin on that June day in 1904. Wodehouse in translation, like Dickens in translation, must lose some of his appeal. Bertie, Jeeves, Ukridge, Mr. Mulliner and the Oldest Member belong to the English-speaking world as much as Sam Weller and Huckleberry Finn.

A quotation I made in 1943 to illustrate Wodehouse's political innocence also illustrates (as it was meant to do) his superb command of the English language for his immediate humorous purposes. It is the opening of a story originally contributed to the *Strand Magazine* (I believe) about 1936 and collected in *Lord Emsworth and Others* (1937; now in Penguin paperback, p.57):

> The situation in Germany had come up for discussion in the bar parlour of the Angler's Rest, and it was generally agreed that Hitler was standing at the crossroads and would soon be compelled to do something definite. His present policy, said a Whisky and Splash, was mere shilly-shallying.
>
> 'He'll have to let it grow or shave it off,' said the Whisky and Splash. 'He can't go on sitting on the fence like this. Either a man has a moustache or he has not. There can be no middle course.'

Mark Twain himself, in his most solemn, deadpan manner on the professional jester's platform, could not have improved upon that opening. But Wodehouse's concentration on the growth or lack of growth on the Nazi dictator's upper lip was not intended to cover up the tyrannous nature of the Nazi regime, upon whose admirers in England he was to express his scornful opinion only a year or two later. The man who broadcast from Berlin in 1941 that in return for his freedom he was willing to hand over India and reveal the secret process of cooking sliced potatoes on a radiator was the same man who, in *The Code of the Woosters* (1938), had made pretty plain his opinion of Roderick Spode, 'founder and head of the Saviours of Britain, a Fascist organisation better known as the Black Shorts.'

Primed by Jeeves on Spode's shameful secret (under the trade name of Eulalie he designs ladies' underclothing), Bertie is emboldened to address him as follows: 'The trouble with you, Spode, is that just because you have succeeded in inducing a handful of half-wits to disfigure the London scene by going about in black shorts, you think you're someone. You hear them shouting "Heil, Spode!" and you imagine it is the Voice of the People . . . ' The reference to Mosley and his Black Shirts could hardly have been more explicit.

Wodehouse began his career as a writer of school stories, based to some extent on his own schooldays at Dulwich. But the sixth-former Psmith (pronounced Smith), who appears as a friend of the hero in *Mike* (1909), 'goes into the City', as Wodehouse himself had done after leaving school. *Psmith in the City* (1910) marks the turning point in Wodehouse from stories meant for boys to stories meant for adults. Most of the famous characters made their first appearance soon afterwards: Lord Emsworth in 1915, Jeeves and Bertie in 1916. It is truly amazing, as Orwell pointed out, how little Wodehouse changed his style and outlook between 1910 and 1940—and, we can now add, between 1910 and his knighthood and death in 1975.

But, after all, should we have wanted him to change his style and outlook? Writers like Dickens, with a fundamentally serious view of the responsibilities of the comic art, can go on from a *Pickwick Papers* to a *Bleak House*, but writers with a smaller range and a more limited artistry, like Wodehouse or W. W. Jacobs, would indeed be foolish if, having struck oil, they moved on to unfamiliar ground. The intricacies of Wodehouse's plots are often tiresome, but we don't read him for his stories so much as for his narrative style and his dialogue, both of which recall the early Dickens as well as *Huckleberry Finn* and *Three Men in a Boat*. It is nearly always the *early* Dickens from whom P. G. partly descends. One of the rare exceptions is Ukridge's sponsorship of Battling Billson in *Lord Emsworth and Others*, which calls to mind *Dombey and Son*, where Toots sponsors the Game Chicken.

Will Wodehouse continue to be read? Recent television and radio adaptations have sent many of the younger generation to the books which delighted their parents and grandparents years ago. And 'there's always golf'! While that mysterious form of religion still lingers, the stories of the Oldest Member will continue to raise smiles on the dials of all but the dourest pro of Scots extraction. Golf is no laughing matter—except in the pages of Sir Pelham. Most things, alas, are no laughing matter—except in the pages of that gentle humorist. It was a most happy coincidence that the creator of Roderick Spode should have been knighted on the same occasion as the creator of *The Great Dictator*. England, which nurtured them, and the United States, their second home, can both be proud and both feel grateful.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR 1975 — MILESTONE OR MISTAKE?

by V. A. Novarra

'THEY fixed World Population Year for 1974 and then they suddenly discovered women.'

'We see no plans for an International Men's Year, so we're not very keen on it.'

Thus two British women, one of them an ex-employee of the UN, on the United Nations' great idea for the Year of the Woman. Not that the UN have much to boast about at present. In their booklet published in 1973, *Equal Rights for Women—A Call for Action*, they revealed that of 240 higher-level officials in their own Secretariat only seven were women. Of the 2,340 delegates to the 1972 General Assembly, 140 were women—6% to represent the world's '51% minority.'

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in November 1967, and International Women's Year is offered as an opportunity for 'intensified action to promote equality between men and women, to ensure the full integration of women in the development effort . . . ' This latter point is of the highest importance. The majority of the world's illiterates and semi-literates are female, and there is complaint that schemes for vocational training in developing countries concentrate on men to the detriment of women, and consequently of the community as a whole. However, when I attended the world congress of the International Alliance of Women in New Delhi in November 1973, I was struck not so much by the differences between problems women encounter in developing countries and those faced by their sisters in the economically advanced countries, but their great similarity: the context may be different but the underlying prejudice which has to be combated is the same—women are less valuable people than men, it runs, and therefore they deserve less of the world's resources; their poverty in terms of education and experience in public life is used to exclude them from opportunities for guiding their own destinies and those of the nations to which they belong.

So what plans has Britain for taking up the challenge offered by IWY 1975? The signs at present are that there will be a cool reception. All branches of the women's movement here have been campaigning steadily, and effectively, for a law to ban discrimination on grounds of sex, and a joint campaign committee, to manage the movement's response to the present Government's promised legislation, was set up in July. This committee represents the entire spectrum of women's groups, from the Fawcett Society, which has been in the equal rights business since 1866, to the women's liberation movement. Liberationists tend to regard IWY as yet another manifestation of sexist attitudes and could well boycott it. The more traditional organisations will use it as a peg for various campaigning

and educational activities. No one is going to go overboard for the idea, I predict, least of all the Women's National Commission. The Commission is the only 'official' body representing women in Britain, in that it was set up to provide the Government with a means of ascertaining the informed opinion of women: it is, incidentally, handling the co-ordination of arrangements for celebrating (if that be the right word) IWY 1975.

What women want, to use the words of Freud's classic and obtuse question, is now quite clear. Women's organisations round the world have sharpened up their objectives and these are crystallised in the UN Declaration. Such goals as equal pay and equal opportunity in work, education and training, are taken for granted. In Britain there is a demand for the end of discrimination in pensions, taxation and the provision of credit facilities and mortgages. IWY in this sense can serve only to emphasise that history is on our side: these aims will be achieved. I should like IWY to be used to promote something quite other, which I feel is more needed, in the sense that a whole dimension of woman's psychological deprivation is not being ministered to.

If this seems rather obscure, let me pinpoint my meaning with a short reminiscence. Some years ago I remember a delegate at a women's conference proclaiming during an open session that what we needed was a 'Women are People Year.' Another woman put the same point at one of the 1973 conferences—'We don't have to take out application forms to join the human race,' she said.

Immediately I can hear objections from women readers. 'How dare anyone suggest that we're not fully human beings!' But that is what the majority of women are doing much of the time. There are women who don't believe in equal pay—not just women wage earners who have not yet been 'educated' by the trade unions, either: in the not too distant past a solicitor and a teacher have both told me that they believe men in the same profession should be paid more. Let us take some of the other conventions or myths embedded in the fabric of our society. A mother should devote herself to providing a secure environment for her small children. A married woman cannot pursue a career which demands mobility. Works of art by women still have to be judged as 'women's work.' Membership of an all-male club or society can be prestigious: membership of a women's organisation is a subject for facetious remarks. What lies behind the attitudes exemplified here (and the myriad others of the same type) is the belief that women have less right than men to personal development, and to such honour and glory as is going in this world. And who are the great upholders and perpetuators of this crippling and distorting view of the human condition? Women themselves. They are ably abetted by men, of course, but men can see more clearly than women, it seems to me, that the female of the species, in the developed nations at least, is tieing her own hands behind her back. She thus disables herself from pushing open the door into the achievement of full human potential, locked from time immemorial but now ajar. (Let no one suppose that my intention is to belabour other women with the old stick, 'Women are their own worst enemies.' For

women to shout at each other in this way is wrong and counter-productive. We must not join in the ancestral male sport of undermining women's self-confidence.)

It is this lack of confidence which is preventing us from opening that door of opportunity, indeed from taking the door right off its hinges and making a bonfire of it. But there are other factors, too. Like so many other movements of our time, the women's movement suffers from fragmentation of aims. The simple faith in the absolute necessity of gaining the suffrage matched the equally clear-sighted fervour for 'improving the condition of the working classes,' 'better education' and so forth, which earlier generations could embrace without intellectual embarrassment. The question of 'equal rights,' easily answered on one plane, is overshadowed by the questioning of the male values enshrined in our institutions. Liberationists of the more extreme persuasion will say that society has been constructed by, and for, its male citizens, not one of whom is so humble but he has a creature, woman or wife, whom he can crow over; in such a situation 'equality' is a mere day-dream. On the other hand, more conventional organisations will seek to enable woman to combine a career with the duties of a wife and mother. (This latter is one of the objects stated in the constitution of the British Federation of University Women, for instance.) There is no unanimity on the desirability of some form of 'wages for housework,' of the repeal of protective legislation which prevents women working on night shifts in factories, or of opening to men the profession of midwifery, now statutorily restricted to women.

Women who have succeeded in their careers are subject to a paralysing double-bind. They do not wish to be singled out for special mention and notice in gatherings of their peers in the world of work. (The speaker who begins his address 'Gentlemen and lady' makes the woman in his audience squirm.) Yet being aware, as they must be so often, of the disadvantages to which women are subject, they must feel the need to organise as women in order to end these disabilities. Moreover, British men seem in general so nervous of 'intellectual' or 'career' women that the women in question have to put on layers of protective colouring (protective of the men's sensibilities, not their own) in the form of super-modesty, 'charm,' flattery and non-competitiveness. Those who do not don this camouflage will be told they are difficult, aggressive or, the ultimate damnation, 'unfeminine.'

The psychological deprivation to which I referred then, is the negative attitude which our society adopts to women's achievement and to their right to achievement. Always there is a 'Yes, but . . . ' for the woman who makes her mark outside the traditional sphere. What I should like to see in International Women's Year is a series of events celebrating women's triumphs and affirming the positive and joyous nature of their self-fulfilment, a self-fulfilment achieved not through attempts to be imitation men or (as Napoleon so delightfully put it), machines for having babies, but by being themselves and rejecting the conditioning which still encourages them to play down their abilities. Because I believe that psychologically we have barely left the era when women writers felt it mandatory

to adopt masculine pseudonyms. Harriet Martineau, an immensely successful Victorian writer and journalist, reminds us of the powerful conjuncture between herself as a regular leader writer on the *Daily News* and Florence Nightingale, as reformer of the War Office. Both represented a level of female influence on public opinion and public affairs quite unknown in our own day, with the wretched 'woman's pages' in the daily press. Her biographer, Professor Robert K. Webb, lecturing about Miss Martineau at the Fawcett Society recently, opined that she did not need one, because she became famous as a young woman and *had always been accepted for what she was*, both in the family circle and beyond. Let Britain, during 1975, do something to show that she accepts her 'emancipated' women for what they are. Some suggestions for doing this follow:

Let there be exhibitions of work by women artists, not only painters and sculptors, but potters, embroiderers and designers of all kinds: concerts of music by women composers; let some attention be drawn to the women who have become distinguished scientists, explorers, mountaineers; much could be done to focus on the role of women as agents of social reform and patrons of the arts; television could bring us interviews with women leaders and leading feminists in other countries; Women's Theatre Workshop could be staged at the National Theatre; commemorative postage stamps could be issued; the Open University could put on women's studies courses; churches could have services at which women officiate . . . no doubt readers can think of innumerable other ideas. I myself circulated a list earlier this year, in the form of a one-woman press release. This has had some slight success but more failure, and *Top Secretary* magazine devoted an editorial to it, in which it was stigmatised as an essay in 'female supremacy and male/female polarisation.' But women will never build up their confidence in themselves and what they are doing by remaining submerged in the prevailing culture, which is saturated with male values. History speaks as if women hardly existed, with the exception of queens regnant; the Establishment is overwhelmingly male in all its aspects; so are big business and the nationalised industries; women are rare in the upper echelons of the educational world and the Civil Service. Where are the women with whom we aspirants can identify? A few politicians, an occasional woman senior executive photographed in the *Times Business News*—yet there are many more remarkable women of whom we hear nothing. Let them suffer themselves to be brought into the limelight, to encourage the rest of us. They may think modestly that they are nothing out of the ordinary, but they are mistaken. They may dislike the publicity, but I hope they will consent to bear it. If thousands of viewers see some women engineers on television, we may increase our hopes that in the future girls will stop thinking of engineering as 'men's work' and start thinking of it seriously as an interesting and worthwhile career. Such object lessons could be multiplied many times if some women who have broken new ground could say to themselves 'Yes, we are, we must honestly admit, unusual, but we don't wish to remain a tiny minority.' This would be far more constructive than the ritual dissociation from any form of women's liberation which so often falls from the lips of women who are interviewed by the media. (I wonder whether

these remarks are spontaneous or are the result of leading questions from male journalists? On balance I think this terror of being tarred with the Women's Lib. brush is merely another facet of the lack of self-confidence in being a woman, independent-minded and proud of it.)

Whether or not International Women's Year is something we shall live to remember with pleasure and pride, it is certain that pressure to improve the lot of women will be kept up. And it will, in the long run, be successful. If this outcome is inevitable, why not welcome it for the wonderful amelioration in the human condition which it is, instead of conceding every step grudgingly? Men will be the beneficiaries of these changes as much as women. Perhaps IWY could be used to provide a foretaste of the peace and spiritual prosperity which will surely follow the conclusion of the battle of the sexes.

[Virginia Novarra has spent her working life mainly in the City of London as a solicitor, manager and administrator. She has been active in the cause of equality for women for some years, through the Fawcett Society and the Women in Management group.]

THE ART OF THOMAS GIRTIN by Ernle Money

IT is ironic, in more than one way, that the bicentenary of Girtin should fall in the same year as that of Turner. Although there was much in common between the early careers of both artists, in particular during the period when they worked for Doctor Monro at Adelphi Terrace, the comparison stops short at an early stage. Turner was elected to full membership of the Royal Academy, an honour which Girtin never attained, in the year of the latter's death in 1802. Each of them was then twenty-seven, but Turner was to live for nearly another fifty years.

Whilst Girtin was to show only one oil painting, *Bolton Abbey*, at the Royal Academy, in the year before he died, Turner went on to become an acknowledged master not only in this medium but also in watercolour, the one in which Girtin himself excelled. Yet, it is said that the greatest British painter of his own and probably all generations once admitted: 'If he had lived, I should have starved.' Although the authenticity of this particular statement cannot be corroborated, and in the words of one of Turner's more recent biographers 'was probably an invention, but may have been made in a generous effort to throw back the rivalry in the face of those who had fabricated it', its continued repetition has been an indication about how succeeding generations have regarded relationships between the two artists.

'Sobered tints of exquisite truth', wrote C. R. Leslie, of Girtin, 'are his prevailing characteristics'. The recent exhibition of his work, shown first at the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester and then at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, underlines the fact that he is one of the major figures in this very typically English field of art.

He had but one manner, wrote the Redgraves, but he had nearly perfected that by the time he died. It is possible, they went on, that if he had lived to become a popularly established artist, he might have become something of a *chiqueur*;

> . . . indeed, his use of the cartridge and more especially his indifference to, nay, even affectation in, parading what was really a blot upon his work, shows the spirit of a mannerist, a spirit very likely to grow upon a man when he finds even his faults magnified into beauties.

Girtin certainly never lived long enough for such a threat to come to pass. What he did achieve, during the short period of twenty-seven years, was a great depth of sensitivity and understanding in his handling of the medium. Though his topographical studies of medieval buildings and romantic scenes were firmly rooted in the accepted styles of his period, he went on to depict landscape pure and simple in a way which took the achievement of his predecessors like J. R. Cozens to new heights. He was, according to the Redgraves:

> . . . the first to give a full idea of the power of watercolour painting; the first wholly to change the practice of the art, to achieve in this medium richness and depth of colour, with perfect cleanness and transparency, and the utmost boldness and facility of execution; the first who followed out a procedure the reverse of that which had hitherto prevailed—laying the whole of his work with the true local colour of the various parts, and afterwards adding the shadows with their own local and individual tints.

Comparison with a longer-lived contemporary working in the same field like Peter de Wint (1784-1849) shows how personal and expressive Girtin's work was by the side of even his most gifted counterparts. De Wint is part of a continuing tradition stretching back to de Loutherbourg and before him to sporting artists like Seymour and Wootton. Girtin, though he belonged to this tradition, through his apprenticeship to the indifferent topographical artist Edward Dayes, with whom he did not have a happy relationship, stood outside it on his own. Dayes, in his turn, criticised his pupil's drawings for being 'generally too slight, yet they must ever be admired as the offspring of a strong imagination'.

Slight seems a curious word to use of Girtin. As an interpreter of landscape views he brought a new approach which was closer to nature than either the idealised concept of the Claudian landscape which had been stylised by Capability Brown in the lay-out of the country estates, or the later development of the romantic landscape which was popularised by Payne Knight and others.

Girtin's pictures, therefore, stand a little apart from both the Palladian and the Picturesque. Insofar as comparison between painting and music are in any way viable, he is basically a chamber music composer, but a chamber music composer of considerable power. Although his work broadened during the course of his short career, there are comparatively few individual highlights in it ('When inspiration failed', however, writes Sir John Rothenstein, 'he fell heavily to earth'). What there is, is a continuous insight into the nature of the scenes with which he was concerned. Mostly the colour scheme he used was low-keyed, but his application of even a small range of colours could be extremely powerful and intense.

The splendid series of water colours and soft ground etchings with grey and brown washes which he made during his visit to Paris a year before his death (his only trip abroad) are a good indication of this. The picture of *La Rue St. Denis* lent to the exhibition from the Bacon collection, has been described by Sir John as Girtin's inspiration at its most soaring. Although he was to influence both Crome and Shotter Boys in depicting this type of scene, his approach was highly personal. Mr. Francis Hawcroft, in his Introduction to the exhibition catalogue, speaks of the architectural masses on each side of the arch which is the focal point of the painting as 'surfaces conceived in impressionistic terms rather than with mechanical precision. By heightening the colour in the small area viewed beyond the arch, he finds a brilliant solution of the problem of dealing with a limited area of light'. In a companion picture, the *Porte St. Denis*, he used the contrasted geometrical shapes of buildings depicted to create a great feeling of height and space in a comparatively small compass. It is said that he usually finished the greater part of his drawings 'on the spot' and even his more mannered watercolours have this same feeling of spontaneity.

Girtin's work often gives a deceptive effect of simplicity which hides the subtlety of its real nature. To take half a dozen of the best pictures in this exhibition and compare them with an equivalent number by even the finest watercolour artists of the eighteenth century, such as J. R. Cozens, Towne or Sandby, is to realise the outstanding quality of his achievement.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON
(Part Two): Some Present Day Activities

by Sir David Martin, C.B.E.

IN seeking to promote natural knowledge for the benefit of mankind, the Royal Society of London has an active programme. The principal means used are (a) the arranging of scientific meetings, (b) the issue of publications, (c) maintenance of the Society's library, (d) the appointment of scientists to research professorships and fellowships, (e) the sponsoring and encouragement of scientific expeditions, (f) by discussion and supporting projects for the improvement of education in science and (g) the conduct of international relations by conducting schemes for the exchange of research scientists between different countries and in membership of international non-governmental institutions, (h) the award of medals and prizes.

(a) *Scientific Meetings*

The weekly meetings cover all aspects of science and technology. Each meeting may take the form of a lecture or a Discussion Meeting. The latter are important scientific gatherings of experts in the subject chosen for timeliness and importance of the matter under discussion. The topics do not conflict with the interests of specialised societies and are often interdisciplinary in character. In the existing programme of meetings, subjects range from topics on 'The Water Relations of Plants', 'The treatment of arthritis by joint replacement', 'The physics of the solar atmosphere' to 'Natural strain and geological structure'. The Society invites to these meetings all who are interested in the subject and about 5,000 people attend the twenty-five to thirty meetings held each year. The Society has an Industrial Activities Committee which promotes a series of meetings in which an attempt is made to foresee the impact scientific research and developing technology may have in the future. In this series have been 'Shipbuilding in the 1980s', 'Energy in the 1980s', and 'Food Technology in the 1980s'. Additionally, the Society promotes evening technology lectures on topics such as 'Nuclear energy for the steel industry' by Sir Montague Finniston, F.R.S. and 'The R & D Dilemma' by Sir Ieuan Maddock, F.R.S. The programme of the Society's meetings reflects the growing emphasis the Society is placing on the value of applied science, which it also does through its elections, publications and awards.

The Society also creates Study Groups for inter-disciplinary topics that are suitable for study over a period of, say, two years, e.g., in marine pollution, the long term effects of small amounts of toxic substances, non-verbal communication between animals, human biology and the urban environment. These inter-disciplinary groups of about thirty persons hold a series of regular meetings. Sometimes they result in having Discussion Meetings of the Society or in the writing of a book for wider dissemination of their findings.

(b) *Publications*

In its scientific journals the Society seeks to publish high quality original

work. The *Philosophical Transactions*—started in 1665, it is the senior scientific journal in the world—now includes monographs and the reports of longer discussion meetings. Each part of the Proceedings contains some eight or nine original papers, reports of lectures or short discussion meetings. Both journals are issued in two series. Series A is devoted to the mathematical and physical sciences and Series B to the biological sciences. In 1974/75 the Society published 38 parts of the *Philosophical Transactions* and 40 parts of the Proceedings. These included reports of 12 Discussion Meetings.

The Society publishes each year *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* in which is recorded the life and an expert appreciation of the work of each recently deceased Fellow. It also issues a *Year Book* and *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* which has gained a high reputation among historians of science.

(c) *Library*

The move to Carlton House Terrace enabled the Society to provide greatly improved accommodation for its important library. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the Society could hold in its library books and periodicals which covered the whole field of science. With the growth of science and the growth of specialised societies, this comprehensive ideal was impossible. However, the Society has the journals published by national scientific academies of other countries and some specialised journals that are not readily available elsewhere in London. The library, which has a rich collection of manuscripts, is one of the finest in the world for the study of the history of science. It contains books written by Fellows, biographies and autobiographies of Fellows, histories of scientific institutions and universities.

The Society's own history and that of its Fellows are a significant part of history. The Society is custodian of much original material and items of unique historical value such as the Signature Book, signed by each Fellow formally admitted to the Society since 1660, and the manuscript of Isaac Newton's *Principia*. The Society's fine collection of portraits dating from the sixteenth century is well displayed on the walls of the new premises.

In recent years the Society has tried to encourage studies in the history of science and now administers a small annual grant for this purpose. It is much too small and the Society would welcome further support for this activity.

(d) *Research Appointments*

The Society makes research appointments usually to a University which is pleased to accommodate the appointee. The Society has no institutes or laboratories of its own in the U.K. The selection is always of a very high standard. Current appointments include fourteen research professors and some thirty research fellowships. Private endowments enable the Society to appoint four of the research professors and nearly all of the research fellowships. The other research professorships are maintained by part of the annual Parliamentary grant. They are greatly sought after awards,

held by distinguished research scientists in a variety of subjects. Brief reports by research appointees are published annually in the Report of Council.

(e) *Expeditions*

As a means of acquiring new knowledge, the Society has always supported expeditions. Edmond Halley, one of the Society's earliest Fellows, made pioneering magnetic surveys in the Atlantic Ocean in the 17th century. Captain James Cook's expedition for the Society was in the 18th century. This tradition continues. In 1956 to 1959 the Society mounted an important International Geophysical Year (I.G.Y.) expedition to Antarctica and set up the Halley Bay geophysical station (named after Edmond Halley). Since then the Society has mounted 21 expeditions, e.g., to Southern Chile, Tristan da Cunha, North Borneo, Solomon Islands, Mato Grosso in Brazil, the Indian Ocean atoll; Aldabra, Cook Islands and the New Hebrides and, as part of its contribution to the International Biological Programme, to Uganda, New Guinea, Nepal, Ethiopia and Malaya.

At present, the Society maintains a permanent research station on the atoll of Aldabra which is situated in the Indian Ocean and is part of the British Indian Ocean Territory. Aldabra has unique flora and fauna which is practically uncontaminated by man and its study provides a rare opportunity for measuring the relationships of the animals and plants which exist there. The Aldabra Research Committee of the Society arranges studies by visiting scientists and resident staff as well as being responsible for the station and its maintenance. The information is collected and the results of studies are co-ordinated and presented for discussion at the Society's meetings. Again, much more could be more rapidly achieved if financial constraints could be relieved.

(f) *Science Education*

A major effort has been made in recent years to bring the influence of the Society and its Fellows to an improvement in science education in Britain. The Society has its own Education committee and joint committees in biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics and engineering. These address themselves to various ways of improving science teaching at school at all levels, the encouragement of inter-relationships between pure and applied science and mathematics. The Society has encouraged, with the strong support of the Institutes of Biology, Chemistry and Physics, the creation of centres for schoolteachers to meet university lecturers and industrialists with a view to discussion of new developments in these subjects.

A separate joint committee with the Association for Science Education assists school science teachers who wish to pursue research. This is done by providing grants for apparatus, etc. and appointing a Fellow or other scientist to act as adviser. Usually, the pupils are involved and are thereby introduced to scientific research. Several hundred sixth form school children visit the Society every year to inspect the scientific exhibits and demonstrations staged for the Society's Conversazioni.

Some years ago (1967-70), six groups, led by Fellows, examined post-

graduate training in science and technology in Britain and their reports were published with good effect. The Society sponsors conferences on a variety of educational topics.

Fellows are very ready to participate in the Society's activities. Each year Council appoints five Fellows to deliver lectures to the British Association Young Scientists (BAYS) and provides for the cost of these Royal Society/ BAYS lectures.

(g) *International Relations*

The Royal Society has a very long history of international relations. Because its elections to Fellowship are from nations of the British Commonwealth, the Society has special relationships with the countries of the Commonwealth, not only through its Fellows, but with their national academies or societies. Conferences with Commonwealth scientists are arranged from time to time. The Society's Commonwealth Bursaries Scheme exists to facilitate movement of scientists between Commonwealth countries.

The Society is the adhering body to the International Council of Scientific Unions, the scientific unions themselves and its scientific and special committees. To cooperate with these bodies, the Council is advised by some seventy British National Committees and subcommittees, each representative of the national interest in the subject concerned. Besides Fellows of the Society, there are many non-Fellows who are scientists active in the subject in government, university or industrial laboratories. Many are nominated by other scientific societies in the country.

The Society enjoys fraternal relations with the academies of science throughout the world and has exchanged many high level delegations.

In recent years the Society has done much to arrange exchanges with scientists in other countries. As an indication of the range and extent of these exchange programmes, the Royal Society arranges exchanges of scientists with 28 countries of the world in addition to those conducted with nations and territories within the Commonwealth; about 500 scientists coming to and going from the United Kingdom each year under existing schemes. The largest exchange programme is the European Scientific Exchange scheme which includes seventeen western European countries. It was started in 1967 with the help of private money provided to the Society by the Ford and Wates Foundations and the Pergamon Press Limited. It was soon supported by Her Majesty's Government and by partner organisations in the other countries in western Europe. Exchange schemes are operated with other countries outside the British Commonwealth and western Europe, including Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Latin American countries (especially Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela), Poland, Romania and the U.S.S.R. Negotiations continue for exchanges with other countries.

The Society has, since the establishment of UNESCO, provided jointly with a Government Department the science advisory committee of the United Kingdom National Commission. This has fostered a substantial involvement of British scientists in the UNESCO programme. For the

recently launched International Geological Correlation Programme, an important part of which deals with earth resources, the United Kingdom National Committee is sponsored by the Royal Society. At the request of UNESCO, the Society organised a meeting in 1973 on the seismic effects of reservoir impounding, a subject of concern to civil engineering and insurance interests.

The Society has played a prominent part in the formation of the European Science Foundation, recently established in Strasbourg. Largely as a result of the Society's leadership, the Foundation will be open to all West European countries, but will at the same time have close links with and support from the Commission of European Communities.

The United Kingdom is represented by the Royal Society on the Council of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis for which the instrument of foundation was signed in the Society in 1972. The Institute, now established in Austria, is the first major non-governmental international project to which Eastern and Western nations contribute on an equal basis. The Society also plays an important part in the International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology at Nairobi and the International Seismological Centre at Edinburgh. It contributes to the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge in relation to its international work in polar research studies.

Establishing and maintaining good international scientific relations is regarded as a modest but significant and important contribution to understanding between nations as well as a proven means of advancing science. The Society gives a significant proportion of its effort to this aspect of its activities and it is a source of satisfaction that many scientists from many lands are frequently to be found in the Society's apartments, either as participants in our scientific meetings, attending committee meetings of international scientific organisations or as exchange visitors. They are all welcome and are evidence of the international brotherhood of scientists.

(h) *Medals and Awards*

The Society has in its gift 11 medal awards, some of which are made annually. The senior Society annual award is the Copley Medal, founded in 1731 and is for any subject to a scientist from any part of the world. Each year on the Society's recommendation, H.M. The Queen awards three Queen's Medals. One for mathematical and physical sciences, another for biological sciences, and a third for applied sciences. Recently, two annual awards have been added, (a) the Mullard Medal and award for outstanding contributions to the advancement of science or technology leading directly to national prosperity in the United Kingdom, and (b) the Esso Medal and Award for outstanding scientific and technological contributions leading to the more efficient conversion or use of any form of energy. Great care is taken in the selection of recipients for these medals and awards. The list of medallists contains the greatest names in science in the past two centuries.

Prize lectures number seven in all. The two senior prize lectureships—the Croonian Lecture and the Bakerian Lecture—date from 1684 and 1775 respectively.

In describing briefly these Royal Society activities, several examples have been given of important projects initiated with private funds but later supported mainly by public funds. This has long been a valuable feature of the Society's role. Private funds are always most valuable in starting new activities. Strong independent support for on-going activities is essential for the vigorous development of the Society's services to scientific progress, to industrial prosperity and to the welfare of the whole community.

For the discharge of these means of promoting natural knowledge and the conduct of international scientific relations, the Royal Society receives its principal support from the expertise of its Fellows. The Society is the Fellows and the Fellows are the Society. Their support is willingly rendered as they follow in the path of Isaac Newton, James Cook, Michael Faraday, Charles Darwin and many others in encouraging the acquisition and understanding of new knowledge of nature.

['The Royal Society of London (Part One): Foundation', by Sir David Martin, C.B.E., Executive Secretary of the Royal Society of London since 1949, was published in the May issue, No. 1312, Volume 226 *Contemporary Review*.]

The July issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Turkey Moves Right—and East* by Stephen Oren, *The Roc Story—a Portrait of Modern Taiwan* by Thomas Chen, *The Bard: A Ghost Refuses to be Laid* by Father Francis Edwards and *Britain and European Union* by James Wilkie.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

MAN OF DESTINY

Winston S. Churchill. Vol. IV. 1916-1922. Martin Gilbert. Heinemann. £7.50 until September 1. £9.45.

In the good old days when Michael Foot was free to review books instead of posing threats to free journalism, he wrote of Volume III: 'Whoever made the decision that Martin Gilbert should succeed Randolph Churchill in the official biography of Winston Churchill deserves a vote of thanks from the nation'. These 900 pages, interlaced by 59 fascinating illustrations and thirteen admirable maps and at the end by a page-by-page list of sources, are so beautifully ordered that reading becomes a pleasure. Moreover, as each distinguished name appears for the first time in the text, Martin Gilbert inserts a mini-biography at the bottom of the page. This is not, of course, a new device, but is achieved in brief and masterly fashion. How often he adds 'lost eldest son or both sons in World War I'. By his immense research the author finds time after time the appropriate quotation from private letters and current newspapers to present his hero in true perspective.

During the five years 1917-22, Winston Churchill was successively Minister of Munitions, Minister of War and Colonial Secretary—all under the Premiership of Lloyd George. The relationship between these two brilliant leaders is the heart of the book. In June 1915 Churchill wrote to Archibald Sinclair (his lifelong friend) that between himself and Lloyd George 'tout est fini'; in the summer of 1917 the two men re-established their pre-war intimacy. He remained 'your faithful lieutenant' right through to 1922 up to his electoral defeat at Dundee. Martin Gilbert bears this out when he writes: 'Between 1917 and 1922 he (Churchill) accepted responsibility not only for the work of his own Departments, but for many other tasks which he was asked to carry out in the spheres of economy, defence and foreign affairs . . . Churchill welcomed the responsibility which Lloyd George gave him. He worked long hours, demanded a good deal from his subordinates, spoke often in Parliament and in public, continued to write for the press and was active not only in Cabinet, but also in important and time-consuming Cabinet Committees'. The key words in the quotation are, 'Churchill welcomed the responsibility which Lloyd George gave him'. He worshipped Lloyd George, even when they differed, and they did over Russia, over post-War Germany and over the Greek-Turkish issue. The worst that Lloyd George could say of him, according to the diary of H. A. L. Fisher, was: 'The P.M. says the two great qualities for a Prime Minister are patience and courage. Winston will be defective in patience'. Churchill was right about Europe, right about Ireland, right about the Middle East, right about Turkey. The broad fact is that Churchill was a Liberal Minister in an overwhelmingly Conservative Coalition: the Tories were never at home with him, not even Austen Chamberlain, never Curzon. At the two greatest periods in his life he worked in Coalition governments, on both occasions in times of war. Churchill was never a narrow party man nor ever an easy colleague.

It is difficult to describe the nature of this genius, who combined so many opposites in one personality; he used scathing words and generous language about the same human being sometimes within one week, especially at critical moments. During the Dundee election he depicted his great friend Beaverbrook as 'the nearest approach to a Tammany boss this country has ever known'. From his hospital bed he described his opponent E. D. Morel as belonging to

'that band of degenerate international intellectuals who regard the greatness of Britain and the stability and prosperity of the British Empire as a fatal obstacle to their subversive sickness'. When finally he managed to reach Dundee in person, he spoke of Morel as 'a man of intellectual eminence and distinction . . . if a man faced hardship and imprisonment for his opinion, you do not deny him at all the reputation of being conscientious'. So one might continue. It is a tribute to Martin Gilbert that we are always allowed to hear both sides of every story; he is always sympathetic but never sycophantic.

All through the book there are quotations from letters to and from 'my darling Clemmie'. He describes his travels, the ardours and endurances of war, his failures and successes; she writes about the children, about the change of houses, culminating in the acquisition of Chartwell. Life was not all sunshine; he lost his mother, his sister-in-law and a younger daughter Marigold before the birth of Mary, now Lady Soames, and hosts of personal friends in the War. These insights into the Churchills' private life not only give relief to the reader, but they help to present a balanced picture of Winston in the midst of world politics, whether at the front among the guns and tanks or creating the Middle East Department or snatching a painting holiday in the South of France. Moreover, the letters are never dull and often very funny. Once or twice his devoted private secretary, Eddie Marsh, enables him to meet members of the literary world, such as J. C. Squire and Siegfried Sassoon, and we are treated to their interviews with Churchill. Lieutenant Hall, one of Churchill's pilots, recalls his master reciting the war (or anti-war) poems of Siegfried Sassoon, which he knew by heart. When his brother John Churchill warned Winston about meeting the poet, saying he might write a poem about *you,* he replied: 'I am not afraid of Siegfried Sassoon. That man can think. I am afraid only of people who cannot think'. It was the same Eddie Marsh who wrote to Archibald Sinclair: 'The worse things go, the braver and serener he gets'.

I was a soldier and undergraduate during the years covered in this volume. He came twice to Oxford, we met and I was captivated. When I, as a Junior Minister, listened to his pre-war speeches in the House of Commons, I often asked the old hands why Winston could not be invited to join the government. The reply always came back that if Winston was in nobody else would count, he would be interfering with every other Department.

Lloyd George gave him wide scope between 1917 and 1922 and finally, as all the world knows, he took charge and dominated the war government twenty years later. The merit of Volume IV is that the reader can see, as in a Greek tragedy, the making of a world-famous Prime Minister, concentrating on 'action this day', setting aside his fears of Labour and Bolshevism, only to be followed by the election of 1945, a sort of National Dundee. But undaunted, he rises again, embracing Europe and the Atlantic alliance and warning the West of the Iron Curtain. Who, in 1975, can say that he was wholly wrong? But this is to anticipate further volumes. Enough is good for such a feast. I learn from the author that the next volume will take the story to 1939.

KENNETH LINDSAY

KEIR HARDIE: THE MAN AND THE MYTH

Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist. Kenneth O. Morgan. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £8.00.

The Labour party, so the argument runs, is either a moral crusade or it is nothing. This in real terms is the legacy of Keir Hardie to the countless canvassers and party workers up and down the country. The Labour party is, of

course, no such thing. It is a successful, highly institutionalised, well organised and no less than normally corrupted political party. It will be seen by future historians as being as much a part of the Establishment as was the Liberal party or is the Tory party. It has been said, not without some justification, that it is the most conservative force in British politics due to its working-class basis and trade union domination. It presents a most interesting dichotomy between rhetoric and mythology on the one hand and political facts on the other. Indeed, no other party is so caught up in its real and fancied history as in the Labour party. No other party is so often damned, both by its friends and foes, for not living up to its mythological foundations as is the Labour party. The Conservative party today is not the Tory party of Bolingbroke, Pitt, Peel or Balfour nor, on the whole, does it claim to be. The Labour party of Harold Wilson, on the other hand, does claim a valid and historical apostolic succession to the primitive faith. At the basis of both the claim and the faith lies Keir Hardie.

Dr. Morgan has entitled his book *Keir Hardie, Radical and Socialist* and it is the dual nature of Hardie's career and philosophy which lies at the foundation of his influence in British politics. To a large degree Hardie was a traditional Victorian Radical with his acceptance of temperance. disestablishment and 'Little England'. Hardie's Socialism came later than his radicalism and was based upon it just as his radicalism was based to a certain degree on his Nonconformity. Ethics, then, lay at the heart of Hardie's beliefs and through him, at the heart of the party he founded and guided, the Independent Labour Party. Hardie was, in the event, a revered prophet of a secular religion ('established' to a degree in the Labour Churches with which he was not particularly concerned). When I.L.P. Member for West Ham, he and his wife lived on 25s. a week; he did not own three houses, nor speak with a public school accent, nor entertain foreign visitors in Daimlers. He disliked the Establishment and the Monarchy not because he worshipped at the threadbare altar of Republicanism but because he felt it to be an irrelevancy to the problems with which he was concerned. As Fr. James Adderley, a noted Anglo-Catholic and socialist vicar, pointed out in his novel, *Paul Mercer,* written in 1897, Hardie (whom he named 'Donald Strong') was already a legend:

> He was a rough-looking Scotchman . . . a simple-minded workman, who had accepted the Socialist programme out of sheer good nature and because he honestly thought it was the only way out of our ghastly social perplexities. He was upright and religious, though not orthodox.

Dr. Morgan has set out to show that Hardie was indeed a prophet, that his relations with the I.L.P., with the Trades Union Congress and eventually with the Labour Party were never easy; that he had little experience with actual government and that he seldom put forward extensive, concrete plans to solve the problems he attacked. His 'Socialism' owed comparatively little to Marx and its eclectic nature offended doctrinaire Socialists then and now. Yet it was precisely in his eclectic philosophy that Hardie contributed most to the formation of the Labour movement as it was to develop. Labour philosophy would prove, like Hardie's own, to be an amalgam of the radicalism of Bright, the foreign policy of Gladstone, the unorthodox manifestations of Nonconformist thought with its bias against the Church, and the common sense of trade unionists who understood the inner workings of British capitalism.

Dr. Morgan's study should be essential reading for those seeking to understand the basic nature of the Labour party. (Indeed, a translation into French and German might do a great deal to further European understanding on the other side of the channel.) Some readers might find the author's ready identifica-

tion with Hardie a stumbling block, but a sympathetic identification with the subject of one's study is surely a necessary prerequisite for a biography. One noticeable feature is that whilst the author mentions the somewhat irregular friendships Hardie formed with women (on the whole, perhaps, less sordid than those formed by many politicians in any period), he refuses to go into the intimate details so loved by popular writers. Unlike so many modern biographers, Dr. Morgan thoroughly understands the period in which his subject lived.

In his study, Dr. Morgan presents us with a microcosm of the Labour Movement. First came the ethical awareness based on Protestant, Evangelical Christianity normally of the Nonconformist variety. Then came Socialism, a faith to fill the vacuum left by the rejection of orthodox Christianity. The author well illustrates the basic dilemma which plagues the Labour party: its touchstone was one who prophesied in the wilderness of a two-party system which had little place for a Labour party outside the Liberal umbrella. Yet his lessons are applied to a party which is now, itself, one of the two pillars of a new two-party system. If Labour adheres to the uncompromising beliefs of Keir Hardie, it is denounced as revolutionary and unrealistic. If it does not, it is denounced as hypocritical. Keir Hardie's legacy, whilst undeniably important, is nevertheless highly inconvenient. Perhaps he meant it to be.

J. E. B. MUNSON

DOROTHY SAYERS: AN APPRECIATION

Such a Strange Lady. Janet Hitchman. New English Library £2.95.

Like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, whose works she studied assiduously, Dorothy L. Sayers soon tired of her successful fictional detective. Lord Peter Wimsey was created with as much deliberation as Sherlock Holmes and has almost as many endearing idiosyncrasies; yet despite phenomenal popularity in the twenties and thirties Lord Peter now seems dated and artificial, whereas Holmes strengthens his hold on successive generations; which is perhaps why her most brilliant and satisfying novel, *The Documents in the Case,* is one in which Wimsey does not appear.

Although Dorothy L. Sayers is an author very much of our own times, little is known of her personal and private life and, as Janet Hitchman points out, scant encouragement is given to anyone wishing to investigate. The reticence of family and friends must account for the paucity of documented information in *Such a Strange Lady.* Apart from the revelation that Dorothy L. Sayers gave birth to an illegitimate son, and some stringent comments on the personality of her husband, Oswald Arthur (Mac) Fleming, there are few surprises.

Some of Janet Hitchman's conclusions are open to question. Not everyone agrees that Mac was quite such a nonentity and incorrigible liar. At any rate, despite her savagely dominating disposition, Dorothy L. Sayers depended on his comradeship and was shattered by his untimely death. Janet Hitchman's facile assumption that he was the prototype for the undemonstrative husband in *The Documents in the Case* seems equally wide of the mark. More probably, it was a cleverly camouflaged interpretation of the Thompson-Bywaters case.

What radically altered the course of Dorothy L. Sayers' literary progress as a crime writer was the almost fortuitous performance on radio BBC of the biblical cycle of plays later collected under the general title of *The Man Born to be King.* From then on, a different goal emerges and we see the powerful ego embroiled in battle with Corporation officials, audience and critics. These

and related controversies might well have extinguished the series, yet it won through to its present impregnable position in the annals of religious drama.

No doubt that the experience steeled and disciplined her for the most testing challenge of her career — translating and adapting the works of Dante, for which she received very little financial or critical reward.

Though suffering from a somewhat uneven tempo due to the unhurried account of Dorothy L. Sayers' youth and childhood in contrast to the rapid unfolding of her activities as a religious and scholarly sage, *Such a Strange Lady* makes absorbing reading. The absence of Index and Bibliography will pose problems for future researchers, which is presumably why Janet Hitchman describes her book as an 'Introduction'.

ROSALIND WADE

CELLO MASTER

Pablo Casals: A Biography. H. L. Kirk. Hutchinson. £5.50.

It continually puzzles me that authors embarking on biographies of the famous, particularly those who have died recently, insist on adopting an encyclopaedic approach which inevitably results in length at the expense of interest and readability. Admittedly, Pablo Casals was a supreme musician who lived the fullest possible life for 97 years, and who was active right to the end of his days. But even allowing for that activity, does it really call for 558 pages to chronicle it, plus over 100 pages of appendices?

The trouble perhaps lies in the approach to the work. Mr. Kirk first met Casals in 1960, and from then on had many a session with him, mainly at his home in Puerto Rico and when Casals visited the United States, in which the master spoke of his experiences, and supplied, or withheld, detail at his choice. Thus, whilst we have the chronicle of his travels from 1900 to the outbreak of the Second War in the greatest particularity, but with only intermittent interest, some of the more intriguing aspects of his life are left shrouded in mystery. For example, of the precise cause of the rift between Casals, his first 'wife', Guilhermina Suggia (the cellist so strikingly painted by Augustus John) and Donald Tovey in 1912, Mr. Kirk writes 'the facts . . . are not likely ever to be known'. One wonders whether a less involved biographer looking at the documentary evidence in years to come may not be able to uncover them.

Nevertheless, there is much of interest here. The picture of Casals' upbringing under the dual matriarchy of his own mother, Pilar, and the Queen Regent of Spain, Maria Cristina, abetted by the enthusiastic, albeit explosive, patronage of her private secretary, Count Morphy, of Irish extraction, makes rewarding reading. On the technical side, too, it is fascinating to discover how early—aged 11½—Casals abandoned the 'fixed bow' technique of cello playing, and thus liberated the instrument for himself and the generations of virtuosi that were to follow him. Remarkable too that it was when less than fourteen that he discovered the Bach *Unaccompanied Suites* in a second-hand bookshop, and so gradually revealed those peaks of the instrument's literature.

On the other hand, aside from his determined, and successful, efforts to set up a Catalan Symphony Orchestra in Barcelona, and his approach at that time to conducting and rehearsal, vividly described here by the young Adrian Boult, the catalogue of virtuoso peregrinations is less than stimulating. The book takes life again only with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War shortly afterwards. The account of Casals' self-imposed exile and his whole-hearted, if naive and ultimately unsuccessful, struggle both

for his beloved Catalonia and for world peace is sensitively handled. The description of those immortal Festivals at Prades, the 'family reunions' that followed Casals' decision to cease playing the cello in public following his triumphant visit to England after the war, during which he discovered that Franco's Spain would indeed be recognised by the Allied Powers, is absorbing as well as spiritually uplifting.

Likewise the picture of the master's twilight years in Puerto Rico, tended by his devoted wife Martita whom he had married in 1957 when he was 81, sixty years her senior, is remarkable. The determination both to make music and to achieve peace, no matter what ailments might afflict him, is the truest tribute to his greatness. Casals may have been naïve, rooted musically in the late 19th century romanticism; his nativity oratorio *El Pesebre* and *Hymn to the United Nations* may structurally have been out of tune with the time for which they were written. But the sentiments were not, and anyone privileged to have seen and heard this wonderful old man play his transcription of *El Cant des Ocells* (Song of the Birds) before the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in 1971, saying first 'Peace! Peace! Peace!' is unlikely ever to forget it. It is where this book depicts so vividly the sheer humanity of Pablo Casals that we are grateful.

DAVID FINGLETON

SHORTER REVIEWS

Political Terrorism (Macmillan. £1.95). A recent addition to *Studies in Comparative Politics series* is the important contribution by Paul Wilkinson, a leading authority in this particular field. The book is a brief intellectual and erudite study into the nature, characteristics and motivating factors behind political terrorism, with practical conclusions. He provides a brief historical background from the eleventh century to the contemporary Palestine groups and the Provisional I.R.A. The study should help to dissuade the public and many politicians from using their own yardsticks of behaviour in analysing and assessing the terrorist's viewpoint and actions. It is useless and dangerous to expect terrorists, for example, to comply with any agreement which they no longer regard as assisting their objectives. Mr. Wilkinson concludes that 'Inaction or inadequate action against terrorists is a recipe for disaster'. He rightly insists that 'the guiding principle of a European anti-terrorist policy must be never to surrender to blackmail or extortion'. Only that way will the terrorist learn that kidnapping and murders do not pay.

Constitutional Relations between Britain and India. The Transfer of Power 1942-7. Volume V. The Simla Conference. (H.M. Stationery Office. £17.50). This latest volume of official documents is mainly concerned with the background and proceedings of the Simla Conference, covering the period 1st September 1944 to 28th July 1945 when the Labour victory in the British General Election was announced. The volume has been edited by Dr. Nicholas Mansergh, assisted by Sir Penderel Moon, and includes some 640 documents, or extracts, mainly from the India Office Archives, supplemented by the Wavell Papers. By the late summer of 1944, with the prospect of an Allied victory, it was clear to the Indian Government that some steps, preliminary at least, should be made towards Indian independence. The British Cabinet also recognised

the need, although Churchill remained reluctant. Much of this volume contains correspondence and messages between the Secretary of State, L. C. M. S. Amery and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, as to what steps should be taken. There was a basic difference of approach and Wavell pressed to visit London to place his case before the Cabinet. On the 1st January, 1945, Churchill noted 'I expect he is going to make trouble and stage a scene for resignation'. However, Wavell persisted and after a March visit to England and Cabinet discussion his policy was largely agreed, namely to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council into an Indian representative political body. To try and give effect to this, the Simla Conference met from 25th June until the 14th July. Its failure, according to Wavell, was due to Jinnah's intransigence. His fear of the Muslims being absorbed into an All-India Federation was real. It is interesting to note that in November 1944 at a regional Governors' Conference, chaired by Richard Casey, Jinnah's demand for an independent Pakistan was simply regarded as a bargaining counter and that he would finally accept less, in terms of protection for Muslim minorities. On the 19th July, Wavell reported to the King on the Simla Conference, with brief character sketches of its members. His estimate of Nehru reads: 'interesting and well read; he is sincere and courageous, but more of a doctrinaire and theorist than a practical politician'. Did Wavell modify this view in later years? He rarely understood politicians.

Portugal's Struggle for Liberty (George Allen & Unwin. £6.50). The success of the Socialists in the recent Portuguese elections lends fresh interest to Mario Soares' book, first published in French in 1972, and now translated into English by Mary Gawsworth. Written while in prison and later in exile, the book is Mario Soares' account of the Portuguese dictatorship since the last war until the revolution in April, 1974, and of his own struggles against the regime. He has written a new Preface to this edition, in which he attacks the Fascists of the right. Writing of the future, in the body of the book, he declares that 'obviously political and trade union liberties must be restored and personal human rights respected scrupulously'. The Executive is to be strong and stable and 'democratically controlled by an Assembly that represents the whole nation, and by a free press'. He was, of course, Foreign Minister and a leading member of the A.F.M. government. Can he now secure these principles against the onslaughts of the extreme left?

The Secret of Crete (Souvenir Press. £4.50). The late Professor Hans Georg Wunderlich's controversial study of the Minoan civilisation was first published in German in 1972. This English translation by Richard Winston will be widely welcomed. Professor Wunderlich attacks the conclusions of Sir Arthur Evans and other archaeologists that the Minoan culture disappeared probably by a great natural disaster. As a geologist, he discounts the theory that it was destroyed by the great volcanic eruption on the island of Santorini, 120 kilometres away. 'The Evans thesis robs early Crete of precisely to what my mind distinguishes it: its claim to be the land in which European culture and civilisation originated . . . I see discontinuity in burial rites only; the Evans school sees discontinuity in the whole culture'. It is a highly erudite and challenging study in what remains a controversial field.

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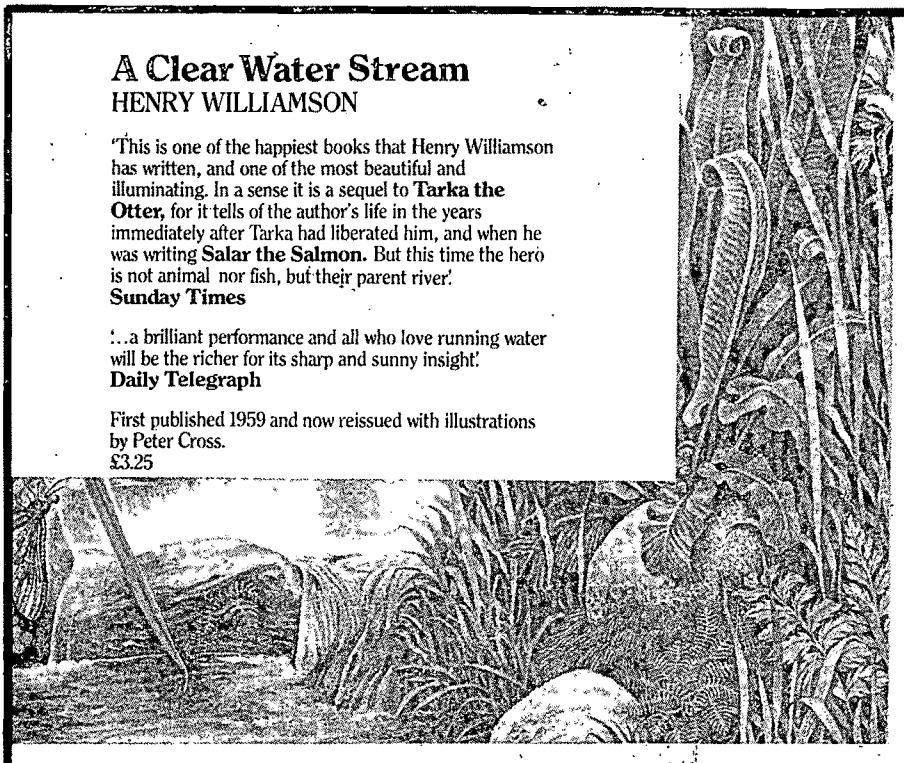

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